

THE JERUSALEM POST

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PLASTIC COVER
87-88
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Guide to Israel
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SECOND EDITION

Rabin tells *Post*: 'We are going after the organizers'

INTERVIEW / Hirsh Goodman

DEFENCE Minister Yitzhak Rabin confirmed today that Israel has detained "several hundred" people from the West Bank and Gaza following the latest in the series of attacks. He denied that any decision has yet been made on deportations, but added that "we have the legal option of doing so and there is no question that this is a means that we could use."

In an interview with *The Jerusalem Post*, Rabin said that the current tough measures in force would continue "until there is stability. I will

not predict, however, when this will be. "My message to the inhabitants of the territories is clear: terror and unrest will get you nothing, just suffering and pain. The only way out of this is at the negotiating table. That no Israeli government has changed the legal status of the territories is absolute proof of our sincerity," he said. "Our offers of negotiation have gone unanswered," he continued. "In the meantime we have to maintain law and order and we will do so."

These past two weeks have been weeks of violence - of road-blocks, stones and Molotov cocktails - and the means we will employ will be in direct proportion to the threat. "Despite a hectic schedule since arriving back in Israel from the U.S., the minister was lively and self-confident. He had been buoyed by an unprecedented flood of congratulatory phone calls that had

reached his office from the U.S. that morning, following his Wednesday night appearance on ABC's "Nightline." He was also unapologetic for Israel's behaviour these past two weeks. "I have just enjoyed reminding the BBC that the laws in force in the territories today are the laws the British left us. The difference is, however, that when they arrested

me, I didn't have recourse to a lawyer within 48 hours. "Our policies have not changed. We will fight terrorism and unrest, and encourage those elements who want peace. We will close schools that have ceased to fulfil their function as educational institutions and which have been consistent in allowing their children out into the streets," he said. He refused to be specific about how many people have been detained over the past two days, saying only that they number "in the hun-

dreds." He gave no indication of how long the detainees would be held or their age. "We are going after those organizers who have come into the schools, their faces masked, and forced pupils, often against their will, to riot." Rabin rejected the criticism that has been levelled against him in the U.S. for reportedly instituting American advice not to institute a hardline policy. "Our decision to increase the level of forces in the territories was out of concern over

(Continued on Page Four)



Christmas eve procession in Bethlehem's Manger Square yesterday. (AFP)

Sombre Xmas in Bethlehem

Midnight mass at Bethlehem passed off without incident last night, though the Christmas atmosphere in Manger Square and inside the Church of the Nativity was subdued in the wake of the recent violence in the area. Blustery and wet weather took their toll, too, of the yuletide spirit. The army spokesman reported no untoward occurrences during the evening. Fewer tourists and pilgrims than usual had come to attend the services. Nevertheless, hardy souls braved the elements to hear the local and foreign choirs performing in Manger Square as they awaited the start of the mass. Troops lined the streets of Bethlehem, manned rooftops in Manger Square and patrolled all entrances to the square in anticipation of post-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 4)

Nissim in last try to save his budget

In a last-ditch attempt to ensure the passage of his budget proposals at Sunday's cabinet meeting, Finance Minister Moshe Nissim will today hold a series of meetings with ministers who have said they will vote against his plans. If by the end of these meetings, Nissim believes that he still does not have a majority for his proposals, the vote on the budget will probably be postponed. From Nissim's recent statements, it appears that he might be prepared to make major changes in the proposal he submitted to the cabinet.

Study shows extremism in young Jews, Arabs

As many as one-third of young Israeli and Palestinian men favour extremist solutions of the Arab-Israeli conflict involving population "transfers" and reject any territorial compromise, according to a study published today by two prominent sociologists. Israeli annexation of the territories and a "transfer" of Arabs to elsewhere in the Middle East was the "most desirable" solution among 30 per cent of the Jews and "acceptable" to 42 per cent in the study conducted by Ephraim Yuchtman-Yaar of Tel Aviv University

'Crucial to the defence of Europe'

U.S. to join Israel in developing missile killer

WASHINGTON (AP) - The Pentagon has confirmed that the U.S. and Israel were to develop jointly a version of Israel's Arrow anti-tactical ballistic missile (ATBM). However, Pentagon spokesman Keith Schneider refused to confirm details of the pact which, the *Washington Times* reported earlier in the day, was reached last week during a visit to Washington by Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The newspaper said the Arrow was "believed to be a revolutionary system that proponents say could change the military balance in the Middle East and protect Western Europe against very short range battlefield missiles."

Under the agreement, according to Jeff Nesbit, an aide to Republican Senator Dan Quayle, the U.S. would pay 80 per cent of the development costs, with Israel paying the remainder. The U.S. money, said Nesbit, would come from a \$75 m. fund authorized earlier this year by Congress for cooperative research between the U.S. and its allies on defence against short-range nuclear missiles. Israel, which has reportedly said it will be able to demonstrate the Arrow system within two to three years of funding approval, has indicated that the project will cost \$140m. a year until then, although U.S. sources believe the annual cost in the development stage to be in the region of \$200m.

Women can't elect Tel Aviv rabbi

TEL AVIV - The city council yesterday rejected the participation of women on the board that will choose the city's new Ashkenazi chief rabbi. The decision was made amid cries of hypocrisy and discrimination aimed at Mayor Shlomo Lahat and his Likud party members. The vote against including women among the city council's representatives on the board was 15-14. Peace

Ship owner Abie Nathan, an independent councillor, abstained. Deputy Mayor Ephraim Turgovnik (Labour) said the 8-member Labour faction would consider withdrawing from the municipal coalition. And councillor Hava Avi-Guy (Labour) said that Labour, the Citizen Rights Movement, Mapam, and Na'amat would petition the High Court of Justice today or Sunday to nullify the council's decision.

Battle of the airwaves over areas

By BERNARD JOSEPHS
Jerusalem Post Reporter
A battle of the airwaves was raging last night over foreign TV coverage of the violence in the territories, with Israel accusing Western television networks of screening distorted reports, and the broadcasters calling the charges totally unfounded. "Our coverage has been fair and balanced," insisted the Jerusalem bureau chief of a large U.S. network. However, government spokesman Avi Pazner launched a furious assault on what he described as the "hate propaganda" of the overseas media for depicting Israel as "a kind of South Africa." American and Western European TV had shown one-sided newscasts, which pandered to the fashion of displaying Israel at its worst, he charged. And he continued: "Those covering the events in the territories have 'exceeded' in creating a distorted picture. "Only those things that give Israel a negative image have been screened. For instance, if a film crew goes into the field for two hours, they are likely to end up sending home 60 seconds of film showing soldiers beating youths."

Pazner, going on the attack after (Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)

Second wave of mass detentions in areas

By JOEL GREENBERG and BRADLEY BURSTON
Jerusalem Post Reporters
The security forces have carried out a second wave of arrests in the territories, boosting the number of detainees to several hundred, according to unofficial estimates. The people arrested are suspected of involvement in the recent disturbances in the West Bank and Gaza. Apart from a newly-opened detention tent-camp near Dahiya, south of Hebron, the "Ansar 2" detention centre in Gaza has reportedly been expanded to absorb the influx of detainees. Others are being held in prisons in Nablus and Hebron. Two petrol bombs were thrown last night at an IDF patrol in Khan Yunis. There were no injuries and no damage. Since Tuesday Gaza defence attorneys have been boycotting the trials of the alleged demonstrators, which began earlier this week both in Gaza and on the West Bank. The

attorneys are protesting alleged irregularities on the part of the military court. Jordan said last night it would take whatever steps necessary to prevent deported residents of the territories from crossing its borders. The statement follows indications from Israel that deportations are planned. Palestinian sources in the Gaza Strip said last night that the arrests have added hundreds of detainees to "Ansar 2," which held an estimated 500-600 persons before the recent unrest. But the Southern Command last night confirmed only that "scores were arrested early Wednesday." The rain and the campaign of arrests in the West Bank have combined to bring a relative lull in the area, as Palestinians take stock of more than two weeks of continuous unrest in which 21 Palestinians were killed and 158 wounded, according to Defence Ministry figures. Scattered protests were reported yesterday in the northern West Bank, where much of the unrest this week has been focused. Palestinian sources said troops used tear-gas to break up demonstrations in Kalkiya

and forced shopkeepers to open their stores. Storeowners in Jenin were also compelled to open, and there was a commercial strike in Tubas, where two Palestinians were killed Monday, according to the sources. Protesters burned tyres and hurled stones in the village of Burka near Nablus, the sources said. In an unprecedented move, OC Central Command Aluf Amram Mitzna ordered the detention of Gali Zahal reporter Zohar Melamed yesterday morning. Nahman Shai, Gali Zahal commander, refused comment last night, but *The Post* has learned that Shai was not consulted prior to Mitzna's decision to have Melamed arrested. The newsmen was released after Shai's intervention. Mitzna is reported to have requested that Melamed be taken off the job of covering the areas and when this was not done sent military police to detain him. Senior staff at the army radio station were last night outraged by the action, with one of them saying "this is a dangerous precedent." Chief of Staff Dan Shomron will (Continued on back page)

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THE JERUSALEM POST

HOME NEWS

SECOND EDITION

Government's 'hysterical' reaction to strike criticized

Israeli Arab leaders urged to boycott Milo

By DAVID RUDGE
Jerusalem Post Reporter

SHFARAM - Israeli Arab leaders yesterday attacked the government's "hysterical" reaction to Monday's not-marred general strike held in solidarity with residents of the territories.

Israeli Arab local council heads were urged to boycott deputy minister Ronnie Milo, who holds the Arab affairs portfolio. "There is no need for Milo or his department," declared Ibrahim Nimr Hussein, chairman of the National Committee of Arab Local Authorities. Hussein is also mayor of Shfaram. His comments were echoed by Communist MK Tawfik Toubi.

(Haifa Mayor Arye Gurel sharply attacked Milo's decision to break off government contacts with the National Committee. The decision was "likely to push the Arabs of Israel into the arms of the extremists," he said.)

The leaders viewed the recent "inflammatory" comments and threats as an attempt by certain government figures to prevent Israeli Arab citizens from expressing their feelings and opinions by democratic means.

The participants condemned the violence which they said had been ignited by a handful of irresponsible botheads. "The disturbances were the work of small groups who exploited our honest struggle for their own bad intentions," said Mapam MK Mohammed Wattad.

The Arab leaders maintained, however, that the situation in the trouble spots had been exacerbated by the behaviour of the police.

They called for the release of all those detained following the disturbances and for a stop to further arrests. Seventeen more people suspected of involvement in the riots in Nazareth and near Umm el-Fahm were arrested by police on Wednesday night.

The Arab leaders, including council heads, MKs and members of the public committee that organized the strike, met here to assess the outcome of the nationwide stoppage.

Instead, attention focused on the reactions of Prime Minister Shamir, Defence Minister Rabin and others to the strike and the disturbances in a number of towns and villages.

Even President Chaim Herzog was taken to task for saying that the violent demonstrations could lead to another chapter in the "Palestinian tragedy" in which Palestinian leaders have consistently refused to negotiate with Israel.

"With all due respect to the president, he was trying to frighten us," said Communist MK and Nazareth Mayor Tawfik Ziad.

Switching his attention to Shamir's remark that Arabs did not know the meaning of democracy, Ziad said Shamir, who had a "certificate of terrorism" (for his activities against the British during the Mandate) was hardly the proper person to talk about democracy.

Ziad refuted allegations that the strike had been coordinated between the Communist Party (Rakah) and the PLO in Moscow. "As an Israeli party, we co-ordinate with nobody. Our line is dictated by reality and in the interests of our

people for peace," he said.

Participants in the meeting revealed that several Arab workers in the Acre, Nazareth and Sakhnin areas had been sacked for not working on the day of the strike. They called on the Histadrut to defend them.

The meeting urged the government to withdraw troops from the territories and seek a solution to the conflict under the auspices of an international conference with the participation of all the parties involved, including the PLO.

The leaders called on the Jewish people to support moves towards a just and lasting peace, and for full equal rights for Israel's Arab community.

Jeff Black adds: Histadrut Secretary-General Yisrael Kessar said yesterday his proposals to increase the labour federation's involvement in the Arab sector were necessary to further a Jewish-Arab coexistence based on mutual respect and equality.

These proposals include speeding up the integration of Arab and Druse members in the Histadrut, increasing the number of full-time Histadrut employees in the Arab and Druse sectors and establishing additional independent labour councils for groups of Arab villages.

Kessar promised that Sunday's Histadrut central committee meeting would discuss the recent disturbances.

He stressed that the Histadrut would protect the rights of Arab workers who took part in Monday's strike.

Dominica PM getting different viewpoints on troubles in areas

Mary Eugenia Charles, the prime minister of the Commonwealth of Dominica is "happy" she came to Israel now. "I chose this time because I am a Catholic and wanted to be in Bethlehem [during Christmas]. And [concerning the troubles in the territories] I am glad I came at this time as it enables me to understand things better. Here I now get the different viewpoints, not just one view as in a single press report."

What different viewpoints? "Well, everyone [in Israel] is agreed that a solution cannot be reached through violence. But there are differences about how best to proceed towards negotiation."



Dominica PM Charles (Scoop 80)

land. Some fell for it. Now there is a cell on each island. Cuba now is the Communist surrogate [in our area]. They brainwash every islander who studies there. He can study anything, chicken-breeding or whatever, and he'll still be indoctrinated with Marxism-Leninism. He'll be allowed to learn nothing else [politically]. They give no freedom of choice."

This, she explained, underlay Dominica's and her Caribbean island allies' request that Washington invade Grenada in 1983 and Dominica's assistance to the American forces.

"While I visited Masada yesterday, I wondered why the Romans wanted to conquer the site so badly, expending so much time and so many resources? Why do the Communists so much want to take over our little islands?" she asks.

Charles is diplomatic about her impressions of Israel's leaders. "Very patriotic, very committed," she says. She praises the "experience" of the unity government, saying that Israelis are "fortunate to have leaders who, despite their great differences, were able to get together to solve the country's problems. Many countries could learn from this experience."

During her week-long official visit, which began last Monday, Charles sought further Israeli agricultural assistance which, it is understood, will be forthcoming. The two countries have full diplomatic relations, albeit with non-resident ambassadors (Dominica's in London and Israel's in Kingston).

IN PERSON

BENNY MORRIS

Has she met with any Palestinians during her stay? "No. It would be easier for me to meet them in the corridors of the United Nations. It might be misunderstood if I asked Israel to arrange meetings for me with Palestinians."

Charles, a lawyer by profession, has been prime minister of her 2,080-square kilometre island state (which has a population of 80,000 and a seat at the UN) since 1980. Charles also serves as her country's foreign minister and finance minister. She thinks she will seek a third five-year term in 1990.

Born in 1919, she worked as a lawyer for 30 years before entering politics in 1968. "The [British] government then tried to introduce a law to curb criticism, to limit freedom of expression and freedom of the press. I campaigned against it. This is what brought me into politics."

Her dominant political concern seems to be Communism and its spread. "I feel very strongly about this," she says. She recalls that during her student days in London in the 1940s, Communist "agents" repeatedly approached her with an eye to recruitment.

"They tried to recruit at least one student from each [Caribbean] is-

IMA blasted for approving disciplinary trial of MDs

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter

Health Minister Shoshana Arbeli-Almosino last night castigated the Israel Medical Association for its decision yesterday to try before its disciplinary court three outstanding physicians for serving on a ministry-appointed committee charged with making recommendations to reform the public health system.

The IMA decided to hold a hearing on the behaviour of Prof. Natan Traiman of the Weizmann Institute in Rehovot, Prof. Elizer Rachmilovich of Hadassah-University Hospital in Jerusalem, and Prof. Leblum Nagan, dean of the Beersheba medical school. The three are the only remaining doctors on the Traiman Committee appointed by Arbeli-Almosino, serving along with four economists and lawyers. Five other physicians have resigned from the panel.

The committee is due to report to the minister next week. Its major conclusion - that the government

hospital system should be separated from the ministry and turned into a hospital authority not bound by Civil Service Commission wage stipulations - has already been publicized.

The IMA had instructed all its members not to cooperate with the Traiman Committee on the grounds that the IMA had not been consulted. If found "guilty," the three professors could lose their IMA membership, a blow to their honour and reputation.

The health minister stated that she would do all she could to implement the committee recommendations and to protect its participants from the IMA's wrath.

HEALTH QUESTIONS - Callers may query cardiologists about heart disease, its prevention and treatment during a two-hour call-in service this Monday sponsored by Kupat Holim Meuhedet. The telephone numbers are (03) 234437, 229880 and 241622. The service will operate from 4 to 6 p.m.

'Mood of Israeli Arabs not as hostile as feared'

By ASHER WALLFISH

The initial alarm in Jerusalem that Monday's strike by Israeli Arabs was meant to challenge the integrity of the state was partially dispelled yesterday after analyses of what happened were presented to a decision-making forum in the capital.

"The mood among Israeli Arab citizens is not as hostile as we first feared," *The Jerusalem Post* was told. "Our watchword should be 'Take it easy, don't rush.' Even though the Arab mayors decline to accept responsibility for the outbreaks of violence in those few localities, we know they very much regret that things got out of hand."

No formal proposal exists that government departments sever ties with the National Committee of Arab Local Authorities. Should such a proposal be tabled, it would find the Likud and the Alignment on opposite sides of the fence and hence incapable of implementation, it was learned last night.

Deputy minister Ronnie Milo, who has proposed denying the National Committee the informal recognition which it has enjoyed until now, as one of a number of punitive measures, is expected to submit his package to the forum next week.

While Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin intends to sanction more deportations of Arabs from Judea, Samaria and Gaza, whose role in inciting to violence in the recent rioting can be firmly established, he has not suggested amending the law, to bar recourse to the High Court of Justice against a deportation order. It is understood that no proposal exists at the ministerial level to deport Arabs who reside within the city limits of Jerusalem, because the application of Israeli law to that area renders deportation unfeasible.

Minister without Portfolio Ezer Weizman appears to be a lone voice, urging that Israel's military presence inside refugee camps and problematic urban quarters in the occupied areas should be reduced as a means of eliminating friction.

Otherwise, the Likud and the Alignment are on the same wavelength at the leadership level regarding the IDF's new policy in the areas during the past two or three days of rounding up suspects and deterring would-be rioters.

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U.S. Jewish leaders 'reassured'

A State Department official said yesterday that the special relationship between the U.S. and Israel remains intact, according to American Jewish leaders who met with him.

Deputy secretary of state John Whitehead told some 30 representatives of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations that "nothing has happened that would destroy or in any way impair the special relationship of friendship and strategic cooperation between the State of Israel and the people of Israel and the government of the U.S. and the people of the U.S."

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The controversial Mormon lights

By ANDY COURT
For The Jerusalem Post

A Christmas controversy: is that a cross or a coincidence on the Mount of Olives?

A group of residents and yeshiva students from the Jewish Quarter complained yesterday that the Mormon University on Jerusalem's Mount of Olives has been lighting the windows of its new building in the form of a giant cross. The group, which calls itself "The Committee To Preserve the Holiness of Old Jerusalem" has called upon MKs of the religious parties to raise the matter immediately in the Knesset.

But Kelly Ogden, assistant director of the Mormons' Jerusalem centre, said that no cross was intended. "Unlike most Christians, we do not use a cross," Ogden said. "In our churches you wouldn't find a crucifix."

The lights that the Old City residents saw were those of a central passageway which runs down the building and are lighted most of the time, he said.

Several weeks ago, after hearing from the Religious Ministry about residents' complaints, university officials turned on a row of lights along a sidewalk in order to change the pattern, Ogden said.

But Moshe Dan, a Jerusalemite who has long been suspicious of the Mormons' intentions, said that he noticed the cross pattern only a week or two ago. "The Mormons are not upfront about how they do things," Dan said.

Ogden insists that the Mormons do not want to anger Israelis. He said that the university is prepared to turn on more lights if people continue to see the form of a crucifix at night.

AIRWAVES

(Continued from Page One)

meeting of senior government spokesmen, said he was personally angered by the "slanted" nature of foreign coverage. Viewers in Europe and America were seeing endless shots of soldiers brutalizing Palestinians, but rarely saw footage of Arabs hurling petrol bombs and stones at troops, he alleged.

"Viewers don't even know that petrol bombs are being thrown at our soldiers or that our troops are in danger. There is something very wrong with this and we will have to try to deal with the problem, though not by restricting coverage. We will act in the best traditions of democracy and free journalism."

His accusations were backed up by IDF chief spokesman Tat-Aluf Ephraim Lapid who addressed an international conference on freedom of the press at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem yesterday. He said the coverage of the past two weeks had been "laced with hostility" and was similar to that of the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

Representatives of major western TV corporations were clearly unimpressed by the government's accusations, describing them as completely unjustified. Lawrence Grossman, president of NBC News, who is in Jerusalem on a visit, said he was certain the networks had given an

accurate picture of the disturbances.

Robert Weiner, Jerusalem bureau chief of Cable News Network, rejected claims of bias. "Our coverage was balanced and objective and we certainly showed soldiers in danger as well as soldiers beating Palestinians," he said.

Bob Simon, head of the CBS bureau, denied that soldiers under attack had not been filmed. "Among the many things we have broadcast, we have shown petrol bombs being thrown at Israeli soldiers and we have made a point of saying that their lives were in danger. We did this several times."

The tersest statement came from Patricia Allemoniere of France's TSI network. "It is the role of the government spokesman to give his opinion on the way the media has treated the issues. And it is our role to report honestly what is going on," she said.

Former Dutch PM dies

AMSTERDAM (AFP) - Former Dutch prime minister Joop den Uyl died at his home here yesterday, his Socialist PVDA party announced. The 68-year-old politician was suffering from a brain tumour. He was prime minister from 1973 to 1977.



Four stories of an apartment building under construction in Jerusalem's Har Nof neighbourhood collapsed yesterday afternoon, harming no one even though two workers were in the basement. Other people working on the upper floors had left to eat lunch before the accident. Cause of the collapse is under investigation. (Isaac Harari)

XMAS

(Continued from Page One)

sible trouble. Most local shops closed earlier in the week, and those that were open had much less business than usual from tourists.

Army helicopters flew overhead as Latin Patriarch Giacomo Beltritti entered the city earlier yesterday in the traditional procession from the Old City of Jerusalem. More than 100 Franciscan brothers, priests and altar boys stood under umbrellas to

greet the patriarch, who was also welcomed by Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij and Israeli military officials.

Louis Hasboun, head of the Latin Patriarchate seminary, said only one local Christian youth band had joined the procession, while others cancelled their participation as a protest against the recent violence. Freij cancelled his traditional Christmas Eve reception for Israeli dignitaries under local pressure.

A memorial service and unveiling of the gravestone for our beloved

ALICE (Asne) SIMES זל

will take place on the shloshim, Thursday, December 31 (10 Tevet) at 3:00 p.m. at the Har Hamenuhot cemetery, Givat Shaul.

For transportation details, please call 02-431047.

Our grateful thanks to all who expressed condolences in person or in writing.

Isaac Simes and Family

We deeply regret having to announce the sudden and untimely passing of our beloved

MARCOS BERSTEIN

The funeral will take place today, Friday, December 25, 1987, at 12 noon, at the old Rishon Lezion cemetery, Gate III.

The Family

The unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved mother, grandmother, and great-grandmother

PEPPY HAIMOVITZ

will take place on Monday, December 28, 1987, at 3 p.m., at the Ramat Hasharon cemetery.

Haimovitz, Amdur and Amiel Families

The unveiling of the tombstone of

Professor ABRAHAM G. DUKER זל

Will take place on Monday, 7 Tevet, December 28, 1987 at 2 p.m. at the Eretz Hahayim cemetery, Har Tuv.

Transportation from corner Hanassi-Palmah streets at 1:30 p.m.

Lillian M. Duker and family

TECHNION
TECHNION - Israel Institute of Technology

The Chairman of the Board, and the entire International Board of Governors express their condolences and share the deep grief of Prof. Emeritus Rafael Shalom, and her family, on the death of

URIEL SHALON זל

long-time active member and former vice-chairman of the International Board of Governors.

On the thirtieth day after the passing of

DORIS RUBEN זל

formerly of Chicago

There will be an unveiling of the tombstone on Tuesday, Dec. 29, 1987 (8 Tevet) at 2:30 p.m. Khatat Jerusalem, Givat Shaul cemetery (new section) - area Tav Gimmel.

Tel. 02-614081 Husband Sheldon Ruben
02-615693 Children Joel Ruben and family
Nikki Krinkin and family
Lynne Ruben

The unveiling of the tombstone of our beloved son

Samal IDOR RABINOWITZ

who fell in the line of duty, will take place at 3 p.m. on Sunday, December 27, 1987 (6 Tevet 5748), at the Arad Cemetery.

The Family

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| MOSCOW | -3 | 28 | Clear |
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| SAO PAULO | 17 | 82 | Cloudy |
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THE WEATHER

FORECAST: Intermittent rain throughout the week.

OUTLOOK FOR SHABAT: same

| | Yesterday's Humidity | Yesterday's Min-Max | Today's Min-Max |
|-------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Jerusalem | 96 | 6-8 | 8 |
| Golan | 96 | 7-8 | 8 |
| Nahariya | 96 | 10- | 7 |
| Safed | 95 | 4-7 | 7 |
| Haifa Port | - | 11- | 15 |
| Tiberias | 85 | 12-16 | 15 |
| Nazareth | 85 | 7-12 | 10 |
| Afula | 73 | 10-17 | 10 |
| Shomron | 91 | 9-10 | 10 |
| Tel Aviv | 76 | 12-16 | 15 |
| B-G Airport | 81 | 9-14 | 13 |
| Jericho | 67 | 11-18 | 17 |
| Gaza | 66 | 12-18 | 17 |
| Beersheba | 48 | 8-16 | 15 |
| Eilat | 38 | 10-18 | 19 |

SOCIAL & PERSONAL

The Israel Gerontology Association has awarded a Certificate of Recognition for 1987 to Amit, a volunteer association for mutual assistance, that has developed "innovative programmes for the elderly and needy in Jerusalem during the eight years of its existence." Certificates have also been awarded to Clara Kellerman (Upper Nazareth), Simon Fishman (Ashdod) and Ze'ev Fisitzky (Tel Aviv) for their help to the elderly.

Farmers rejoice, but rains cause havoc on roads

By Jerusalem Post Staff

While farmers welcomed this week's downpour, yesterday's rain was a problem for drivers and pedestrians.

Heavy flooding caused bumper-to-bumper traffic jams on the roads to Tel Aviv. Elsewhere, the rain temporarily knocked out traffic lights.

The rain is expected to ease up today and tomorrow. Temperatures are expected to drop further throughout the country.

The combination of cold and wet weather was a boon to skiers, as Mount Hermon was covered by 1.5 metres of snow.

According to the weather station at Beit Dagan, the rain in recent days has been 40 per cent greater than normal for this time of year.

The level of Lake Kinneret has risen by over 15 centimetres this week.

This week's rain has more than made up for last month's three-week dry spell. The weatherman reported that the country has now received 144 per cent of its average rainfall through December. About 50 per cent of the rain expected for the entire season has already fallen.

Traffic backed up again for much of yesterday on the Beit Dagan-Rishon Lezion road.

Israeli among 23 killed in Egypt storm mishaps

CAIRO (Reuters) - Twenty-three people, including an Israeli tourist and 20 footballers, have died in accidents caused by rainstorms sweeping Egypt, police said yesterday.

Yaffa Avni, 50, was killed and three other Israeli tourists were injured when a bus skidded on a muddy Cairo street and hit them, an Israel Embassy spokesman said.

The soccer players drowned when their bus plunged into a canal.

Obituary Notices accepted 24 hours a day

MOD & PHONE

03-38 38-38

Kremlin man says officials resisting reform

MOSCOW (Reuters) - A senior Kremlin official said yesterday that Communist Party officials across the Soviet Union were resisting reforms and seeking to prevent the spread of open discussion of the country's problems.

But in an interview with the party daily *Pravda*, Central Committee Secretary Georgy Razumovsky said a party conference next summer would be aimed at establishing a programme for further democratization and the extension of reform.

Razumovsky, who is in charge of organizational work for the party,

told *Pravda* that many officials "loudly support the current slogans, but are in fact doing everything to resist healthy changes, including the spreading of glasnost."

"It would be premature to say that glasnost has become normal practice everywhere," the 51-year-old Razumovsky, generally regarded as a Gorbachev protégé, said. "Many facts show that for many party officials it is far from simple to cross over into the world of glasnost."

"Additionally, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that there are still instances of bureaucratic behaviour in party work," he said.

Razumovsky's remarks followed increasing suggestions in the Soviet press that reconstruction was meeting tough resistance, particularly from officials in the state and government bureaucracies.

On Wednesday, prominent film director Tengiz Abuladze said the country's 18 million civil servants and some 180 million more of their relatives and friends were "fierce enemies" of the reform programme.

But there has been less public discussion of opposition within the party itself to reconstruction, launched soon after Gorbachev came to power

on his election as party general secretary in March 1985.

Foreign analysts expect the party conference, likely to take place in late June or early July, to set strict new guidelines for extension of the programme and perhaps remove officials judged to be unenthusiastic over reform. Razumovsky, appointed in March 1986, said there were party officials "who within themselves are convinced that the masses do not need to know everything..."

"They also think that because of the position they occupy they alone are the source of all wisdom and knowledge," he told *Pravda*.



Ramachandran (Reuters)

Indian police kill 12 in Tamil funeral riot

MADRAS, India - At least 12 people were killed when police fired at violent mourners rampaging through Madras following the death on Thursday of India's popular film-star-turned-politician, Marudur Gopalan Ramachandran.

India's top Tamil leader died in his sleep early Thursday. His death triggered rioting and suicides in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, police said.

Ramachandran, 70, who was chief minister of Tamil Nadu and popularly known as "MGR", died during the night of a heart attack. Hundreds of thousands of people jammed the streets to reach the hall where Ramachandran's body was lying and wailing women filed past him, beating their chests in grief.

Police Commissioner W.I. Bawaram said at least 12 people died when police fired on crowds looting shops, blocking traffic and burning buses and other vehicles. The police chief said he had given shoot-to-kill orders to check violence.

Eyewitnesses said entire shops had been looted in parts of Madras and that police opened fire in several parts of the city where crowds set up road blocks to enforce total mourning for their hero.

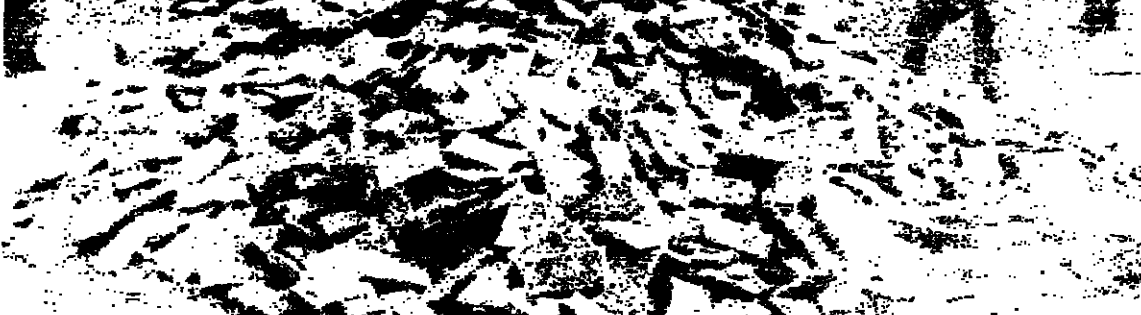
Police, who called for reinforcements from neighbouring states, used staves to beat back some of the 100,000 people who tried to enter the building where Ramachandran's body was laid out.

United News of India said two

people committed suicide by hanging because of grief over Ramachandran's death. The suicides occurred in the Thanjavur district, 280 kilometres south of Madras.

Ramachandran was a popular movie actor before 1977, when he was elected Tamil Nadu's chief minister, a post similar to that of governor. His Anna Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam Party is closely aligned with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Congress Party.

He has been a central figure in mediations between India and Tamil rebels in Sri Lanka to end the four-year-old ethnic war in the island nation. Tamil Nadu state, which is just 30 km. from Sri Lanka, is the home of about 50 million Indian Tamils. (Reuters, AP)



Pakistani customs officials burn what may be the largest ever destruction of illegal drugs in the world during a two-day operation which began on Wednesday in Peshawar. An estimated 1,500 kilos of heroin and over 75,000 kilos of hashish were destroyed. (AFP)

'An apprentice was in charge of disaster ferry'

MANILA (Reuters) - Survivor statements would be considered in a formal inquiry convened by the coast guard and due to open on Monday.

In a separate statement issued later, the Coast Guard said a witness alleged the chief mate and the third mate were on the ferry's main deck drinking beer at the time of the collision, while the captain was watching a video in his cabin.

As a ragtag convoy of jeeps, buses and cargo vessels brought corpses to Manila, dozens of questions remained over the sinking and Cunan acknowledged many - including the exact number on board - were unlikely to ever be answered.

The Manila agent of Lloyds of London reported that the Dona Paz had sunk after being rammed amidst the tanker Victor. Both vessels caught fire and sank. The ferry

operators said late on Wednesday they had filed a formal complaint against the tanker in a preliminary move required prior to a lawsuit.

Relatives of missing passengers told the *Manila Chronicle* they were considering banding together to try to sue Sulphur Lines. They did not specify the likely grounds of the action.

Fourteen ships cruised the deep tropical waters between the islands of Mindoro and Marinduque yesterday, continuing their grisly Christmas eve task of plucking bloated, decomposing corpses from the sea and the picture-postcard beaches.

Plastic "body bags" have been sent to the remote eastern coastline of Mindoro, one of 7,000 islands in the Philippines, where fishing villagers started on Wednesday to bury the corpses that came in with the tide.

U.S. report says Libya ready to make chemical weapons

NEW YORK (Reuters) - The Reagan administration suspects that a plant Libya is building will be used to make chemical weapons, *The New York Times* reported yesterday.

Citing administration officials familiar with secret intelligence reports, the newspaper said in a report from Washington that evidence about the plant was consistent with apparent increased Libyan interest in chemical weapons.

U.S. officials said that Libya appeared to have provided Soviet-made mines to Iran in exchange for chemical weapons and that Libya on one occasion tried to use chemical weapons in Chad with no success, the newspaper reported.

The officials would not say precisely where the plant, which was not yet in operation, was situated but said it was far from populated areas. One official said Libya might use chemical weapons widely if its war with Chad flared up again and might provide them to other countries or even terrorists.

American officials concerned about the spread of chemical weapons had in recent years focused on Iraq, Iran and Syria, the newspaper said, but Libyan involvement would raise a worrisome new development and could foil current efforts in Geneva to conclude a treaty banning the weapons.

The State Department had no immediate comment on the report.

Contract awarded to build U.S. \$45 billion 'stealth' attack jet

WASHINGTON (Reuters) - The U.S. Navy has awarded General Dynamics and McDonnell Douglas a contract to develop a new attack jet for the 21st century in a programme that could eventually cost \$45 billion.

It said the two companies were given a contract for advanced engineering work to build the so-called advanced tactical aircraft, or ATA.

Details of the contract, the initial phase of one of the largest new programmes planned by the U.S. military, were not disclosed because the programme is highly classified.

The jet, incorporating "stealth" technology to reduce its radar signature, will replace the Grumman A-6 Intruder as the navy's prime carrier-based bomber in the late 1990s, the navy said. The A-6 was introduced

in 1960.

A brief navy announcement said a full-scale engineering development contract would be awarded after a formal review of the programme by the Defence Department.

The navy did not say how many aircraft it would purchase or how much the programme would cost. But *Defence Week*, an industry newspaper, said the navy was expected to spend about \$45 billion for about 450 aircraft, to replace a similar number of A-6s.

The ATA will be flown by a two-man crew, a pilot and a bombardier-navigator. It will be "produced in sufficient numbers to provide and maintain the navy with a fully capable carrier-based medium attack strike force," a Pentagon statement said.

Nicaraguans lay down arms for Xmas

MANAGUA (AP) - Nicaraguan soldiers and the Contra rebels put down their arms yesterday in the final Christmas truce of the nearly six-year-old war. The two-day truce, effective from midnight, will bring a halt to the battlefields after heavy fighting earlier in the week in the northeastern gold-mining region.

The Defence Ministry said that Sandinista soldiers would lay down

their arms to honour the truce. The U.S.-supported rebels also have agreed to abide by the temporary ceasefire.

Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, the head of the Roman Catholic church in Managua, proposed the Christmas truce. But negotiations to arrange a permanent ceasefire between the two sides broke down on Tuesday in Santo Domingo.

On Sunday, the Nicaraguan rebels launched what they said was their largest offensive in the war, sending their men into the jungle mining villages of Sinuá, Rosita and Bonanza, about 270 km. from Managua. After two days of heavy combat, the government said its soldiers had retaken the villages. Soldiers patrolled the region on Wednesday but no major combat was reported.

Both the leftist government and the rebels claimed they had achieved their objectives.

Bomb blasts Argentine Jewish cemetery

CORDOBA, Argentina (AP) - A pre-dawn bomb on Wednesday at a Jewish cemetery in this northwestern Argentine city destroyed the entrance gate and broke neighbourhood windows, police said yesterday.

Nobody was injured in the blast, which was the second attack on a Jewish cemetery since the arrest last month of suspected Nazi war criminal Josef Franz Schwammberger in Huerta Grande, near this city of 1 million.

Schwammberger, 75, accused of

involvement in the deaths of 5,000 Jews in labour camps in occupied Poland from 1942-44, is in jail in La Plata awaiting Argentine action on an extradition request from West Germany.

The day after Schwammberger's arrest, a synagogue in the predominantly Jewish neighbourhood of Once in Buenos Aires, was damaged by a blast that destroyed the entryway and broke store windows. Nobody was injured and like Wednesday's blast, no one claimed responsibility.

Israeli gets 23 years for fixing sham marriages

PORTLAND, Maine (AP) - An Israeli citizen has been sentenced to 23 years in prison for arranging fraudulent marriages for other Israelis so they could remain in the U.S. then inducing several to become cocaine traffickers.

District Judge Gene Carter on Wednesday imposed the maximum sentence provided in a plea agreement and ordered David Ohayon, 27, to pay a \$20,000 fine. The judge rejected a tearful plea from Ohayon, who lives in Old Orchard Beach, that his three-year criminal

life was over.

The prosecution claimed Ohayon was in the upper echelon of a scheme that involved cocaine trafficking and defrauding the Immigration and Naturalization Service through sham marriages.

Prosecutors dropped 15 charges against Ohayon in exchange for guilty pleas to two counts of cocaine trafficking; two immigration charges, including arranging one fraudulent marriage; and one charge of filing an income tax return that did not include income from

drug proceeds.

Ohayon had been charged with arranging six fraudulent marriages between Maine women and Israeli nationals. At a trial of a co-conspirator, he testified that the women were paid \$500 to \$3,000 to marry the Israelis so they could obtain resident alien status.

Another Israeli national, Uri Ben Hanan, who authorities said entered into a fraudulent marriage in 1984, was sentenced in October to 15 years in prison for his part in the cocaine ring.

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Tuesday, December 29, 1987, at 3:00 p.m.

A bus will leave from the Sheraton Plaza Hotel, Jerusalem, at 1:30 p.m., and from the Hilton Hotel at 1:45 p.m., returning to Jerusalem after the ceremony.

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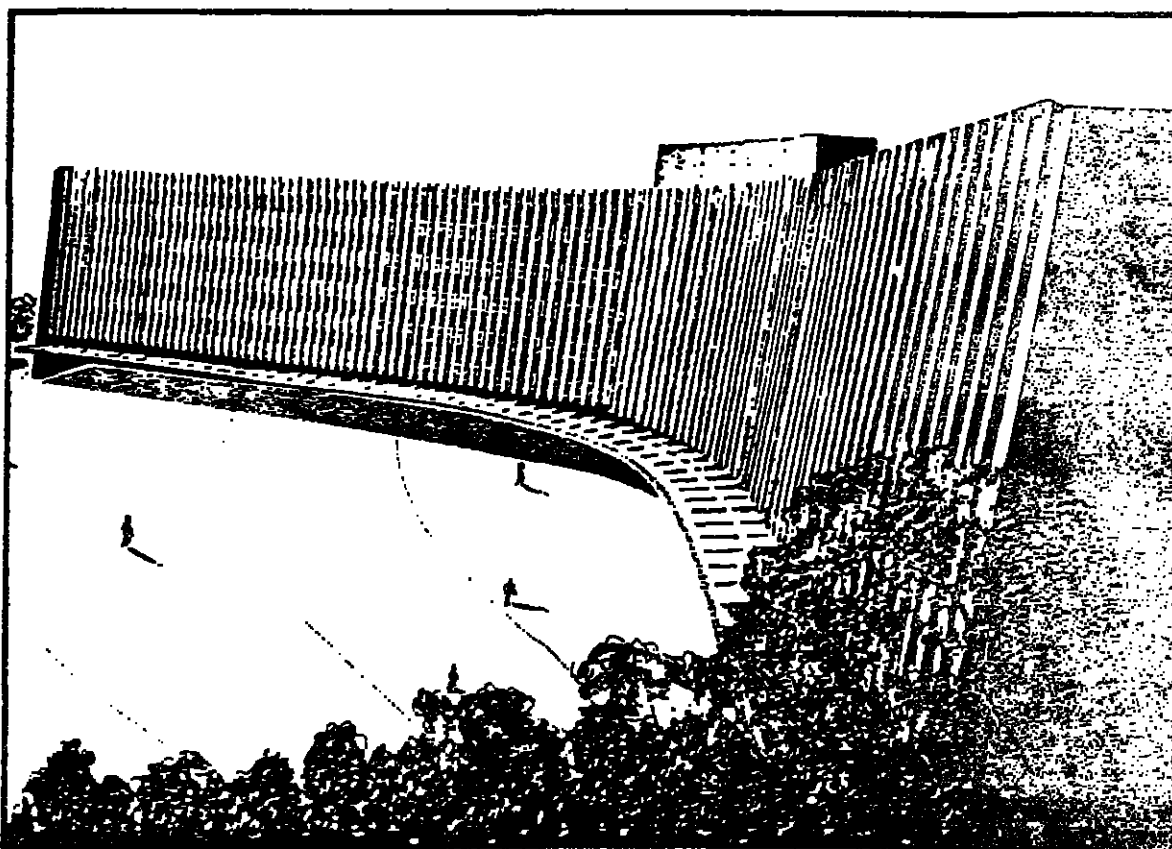
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Haifa U.'s Gavriel Ben-Dor:

'Our security is the best since 1948; we should exploit it'

By YA'ACOV FRIEDLER
Jerusalem Post Reporter

HAIFA - The Arab-Israeli arms race has peaked. Syria has been forced to relinquish its dream of strategic parity. Egypt is maintaining the peace and Iran and Iraq will for many years to come be busy with each other.

"Israel's security situation is the best we've had since 1948 and we should exploit it to keep our enemies at bay with even more arms we can't afford but by statecraft and such good luck as the mutual neutralization of Iran and Iraq."

"This is the time to cut defence spending and concentrate on renewing economic growth, technological progress, education and welfare. These will make us stronger and better able to handle another arms race if it is forced on us in the future."

This thesis, based on exhaustive study and backed with a wealth of figures, was propounded on Wednesday night by Haifa University rector Gavriel Ben-Dor, in a speech on the changing balance of forces in the Middle East, to the university's scientific-academic club.

He cautioned politicians to appreciate the difference between a tactical threat, such as terror, "which can trouble and annoy and harm morale but not beat us" and strategic threats "which are not in the offing." He cited comparative figures from the London Institute of Strategic Studies, the Pentagon's Armament Control and Disarmament Agency, and Tel Aviv University's Strategic Studies Institute.

Ben-Dor based his argument largely on "Military Capital Inventory" (MCI) which embraces armaments as well as infrastructure such as roads and communications.

Israel's MCI had totalled \$21 billion in 1973. It went up by 50 per cent by 1979, another 50 per cent by 1984 and reached \$50 billion in 1986.

Syria's MCI had been \$8 billion in 1971, was doubled by 1979 and again doubled to \$32 billion by 1984, as they sought strategic parity.

Egypt's MCI had been \$19 billion in 1973, roughly equalling Israel's but still only \$19 billion in 1979.

"This was one more reason for President Sadat's peace initiative," Ben-Dor held.

By 1985 Egypt had raised it to \$26 billion, "still only half of Israel's."

Our third neighbour, Jordan, though it had quadrupled its MCI from \$1.6 billion in 1973 to \$6.5

billion in 1984, was not a match. Together, their MCI totalled \$60. billion in 1984, compared with Israel's \$47 billion, "which is not a bad ratio considering our greater build-up of air and naval forces and the higher motivation and modernization of our soldiers."

In Syria, the army was already smaller now than at its 1985 peak, "when there was a real danger of war against us."

But after 10 years of whipping up a Syrian national psychosis of strategic paralysis, with nothing to show for it but the inability to repair electric breakdowns or household appliances because all the technicians are in the army, and chaotic public transport because all the tyres go to army trucks, President Assad, "the cleverest statesman in the region," realized that there is a limit to the sacrifices the population will make to pursue an illusive goal.

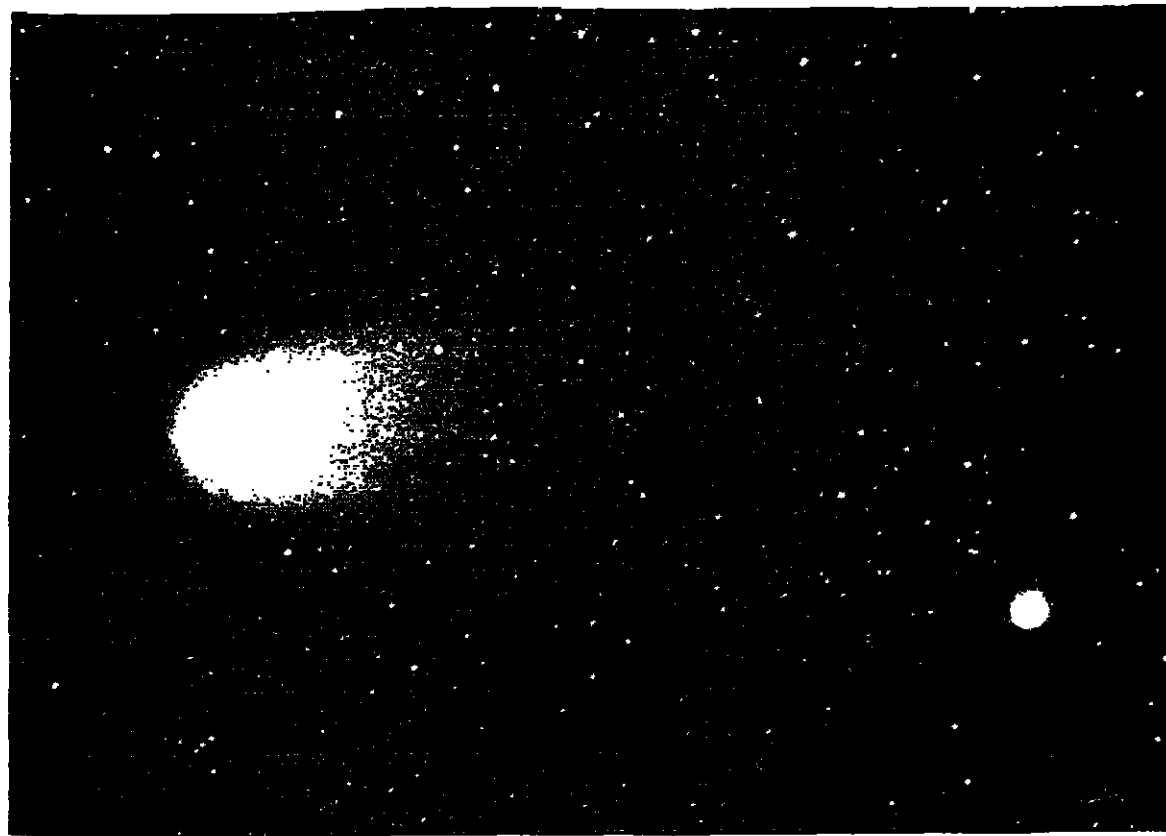
So he has slowed his build-up, which since 1985 is no greater than ours, i.e. they are no longer closing the gap. "There is therefore no reason to fear war now," Ben-Dor held.

With Egypt, we enjoyed only a "passive peace," which was all we could hope for in this generation. "It's good enough; we shall have to wait for active peace of mutual interaction till the next generation."

"Today, the balance of power, in men, planes, tanks and artillery is 1.5 to 1 in favour of the three Arab countries, and we can live with that, provided we have the wisdom to keep Egypt from joining the confrontation again. Iran and Iraq will be worrying about each other and Syria is unable to accelerate its arms race. The defence budget cuts we are making are in order since we are not now threatened and they will indeed enhance our security because our neighbours will feel less threatened."

He quoted his sources as recording that Israel has already been forced to keep 90 of its 676 combat aircraft in mothballs for lack of money, pilots and even air space to operate them, to illustrate why more defence spending was not now more important than economic growth.

"What we need now is statecraft, not more military spending," Ben-Dor said. By playing its political cards properly, softening the potential enemies by a combination of well-thought-out policies and good luck, such as the Iran-Iraq war, Israel could assure its future, he believed.



Comet Bradfield caught passing over Jerusalem's Ramot quarter November 22. (J.A. Dann)

New comet sweeps across Israeli skies

By JUDY SIEGEL
Post Science and Health Reporter

A comet discovered four months ago - the brightest to appear in Israel's skies since Halley's Comet made an appearance in the spring of last year - has been photographed for the first time here. The photographer who captured Comet Bradfield 1987-S is an American-born amateur astronomer who dreams of discovering a supernova and having it named for him.

John Dann is part of a three-man team of astronomy buffs who leave their warm homes on moonless nights and roam the countryside until 2 or 3 a.m. in search of stars. He and his friends, Iraqi-born singer (of the Parvarim) Yossi Hourri and Hungarian-born Ezra Drucker, are all members of the Israel Astronomical Association. Dann is self-taught, and as a child always pestered his father to take him to see telescopes at the University of Colorado near their home in Boulder. Dann and his wife make a living producing a soybean product for health-food stores.

The Comet Bradfield was discovered last August by Australian astronomer William Bradfield, who, with 13

comets named for him, is number four on the official list of comet discoverers. The new comet is visible in the constellation of Pegasus in the middle of the western sky in the early evening. It is very faint, but binoculars make it easier to find. Dann told 'The Jerusalem Post' that Bradfield should be visible here into January.

Experts say that 1987 has produced a bumper crop of newly-discovered comets. About 20 new ones have been sighted this year.

Comets are regarded as fossils from the early history of the solar system. They have a small nucleus, some only 15 kilometres wide, but a very long and impressive tail of gases heated by the sun.

Dann and his friends deploy a used 11-inch telescope that he carries down to the car from his fourth-floor apartment. He uses a Nikon camera to capture the stars and planets on film, and has an album of his best photos. He came on aliyah after making a bicycle trip from Israel to Egypt and back in the summer of 1980 to express support for the peace agreement.

Dann photographed Bradfield from the Ramot quarter in Jerusalem, where he lives, and from a spot near Modi'in.

Air Force to use dogs to guard bases

By JOSHUA BRILLIANT
Post Defence Reporter

MEITZUDAT YOAV - The Air Force is planning to use more dogs to guard its bases, having concluded there aren't enough human guards to detect and deter the enemy.

Tat-Aluf Eitan Yariv, who heads the anti-aircraft units and is responsible for protecting air fields against land attacks, told officers that the Air Force has some 1,000 dogs to help guard its bases. But some fences stretch over a total of 40 kilometres and are insufficient, he said.

Yariv's comments reflected the belief of many commanders that army camps are poorly protected.

He said that a guard must be more sophisticated to protect a rear base than one on the front line. A front line unit may fire at any moving target, but guards in a rear base must be careful not to shoot soldiers trying to sneak back from unauthor-

ized leave or to hit lovers sharing a secluded spot.

Air Force dog handlers told 'The Jerusalem Post' the corps once had many more dogs than today, but had taken poor care of them. Soldiers had been ordered to become handlers, though in many cases they did not care about animals.

Yesterday a new group of handlers graduated here from the training course. They consist only of volunteers. Most are women.

The course commander, Sergeant Major Yona Shmueli, said the women had raised the unit's standards. Since they were high school graduates, the army could not assign men with poor education to serve alongside them. Poor matching had led to the dissolution of a group trained in 1982, when one by one all the women soldiers left.

But commanders had had reservations about making the corps ex-

clusively female, and advocated mixed units. Some said the women were too sentimental and could not pressure their dogs. Some dogs were stronger than the women soldiers and pulled them along. So a group of volunteer handlers that included men as well as women was put together.

One graduate, Ayelet Argaman of Givat Ze'ev, said she "tried out" several dogs before developing a special relationship with two-year-old Roger. "He's not so powerful that I can't lead him," the skinny soldier said.

Three women soldiers were bitten during the six-week course - one by her own dog, and two by other soldiers' dogs. "They all understood that it was an occupational hazard," Shmueli said.

Each graduate has a "personal" dog and will be responsible for 15 to 20 others chained along the fences.

RABIN

Rabin admitted that reports that Israeli snipers had fired at demonstrators were correct. "But here again," he said, "the goal was to minimize casualties." The snipers, who are attached to all units, he said, used small-calibre, .22 rifles for pin-point accuracy "aiming only for the feet."

He denied that most of the casualties had been children. "Is a 23-year-old, or a 19-year-old, a child?" he asked. In each case of a death, the army conducts a routine investigation, he said.

As to why the IDF did not have better non-lethal riot equipment, Rabin admitted that the scope of the riots had taken the army by surprise. "We have some equipment, but could not cover all points of conflict."

"Anyway," he noted, "even in those places that we had such equipment it did not help."

The riots, in Rabin's assessment, were mainly spontaneous "though they were encouraged by Arab radio stations, the East Jerusalem newspapers and operatives of terrorist organizations."

The Jordanians, he said, have reason not "to be happy" about events.

noting that they have invested heavily in trying to gain influence in the territories. "The inhabitants of the territories are Jordanian citizens and Jordan, therefore, has responsibility for them," he said. "Any future peace process must include a joint Jordanian-Palestinian element, and therefore the Jordanians are involved."

"And after all," he concluded, "if they (the Jordanians) had not gone to war in 1967, none of this would have happened."

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Carful?? - Careful!!

A plea from Moshe Unna

Once upon a time an NRP convention was a different story

Even for a non-religious Israeli, cynical about nationalist platitudes soaked in religion and mysticism, there was something tragic about yesterday's National Religious Party political convention.

Hour after hour, speaker after speaker dithered on about whether to "clarify" its policies regarding the administered territories - which essentially meant taking a position somewhere to the religious right of the Likud but not so far right as Kahane; or to "face reality" and realize that the politics of Israel's grasp on Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip requires something somewhat more subtle than declaring the entire Jewish experience is, as one speaker said, "a matter of miracles."

The tragedy was in seeing a political movement that once upon a time had a constituency numbering in the tens of thousands reduced to chasing after the chimera of a constituency that nobody could define.

Moshe Unna, 85 years old and 60 years a member of the national religious movement, had to make a plea to be heard, his voice a shadowy echo of the party before it fell for the rabble-rousing rhetoric of MK Avner Shai and MK Haim Drucker. Unna is one of the last reminders that there was a time when the NRP's natural alliance was with the dovish forces in Labour and not the hawkish forces in the Likud.

There were those from the hawkish wing who wanted to simply chuck Unna and others like him out of the party. Unna, who had prepared a speech attacking the extremists from the right, found himself calling out for the party "to return to itself, identify its common values uniting us all," rather than squash any attempt at ideas that depart "by even an inch" from the "deliberately provocative extremism" that he found in the proposed party platform.

There was a time when Unna's writing and speeches could silence and then mobilize the NRP. From his words, the religious kibbutz movement was founded. But yesterday morning, it took a chairman's gavel and a personal request from the 85-year-old Unna for silence to reign for at least the first few minutes of his plea for the party "to come back to itself."

It's been quite some time since the NRP has been anything close to its origins. Unna, an equally aged Tova Sanhedria, tried to remind the party, which convened to discuss "foreign policy and security issues" - a euphemism for the future of Judea, Samaria and Gaza - that its origins were in a belief in labour and Torah, but that nowadays most labourers in Israel are Arabs.

"After 60 years in this party," said Unna, "I think I can demand my right to tell you that there is an attitude that is destroying everything that is proper in this

movement."

That attitude, charged Unna, is "the extremism, which you call clarity, and which you believe will solve your problems."

The debate had swirled all morning between those who spoke in predictable platitudes about the "spirit of the Land of Israel being the heart of the people of Israel," and those who announced with either forthrightness or anxiety, a readiness to give up parts of the Land of Israel for peace.

Unna had walked slowly to the podium when it was his turn to speak. He was listed as having objections to several of what he called "the most deliberately provocative" of the items in the proposed political platform of the party.

Tel Aviv Tel Aviv
Robert Rosenberg

But instead of speaking directly against such things as Israeli sovereignty over the territories, Unna spoke about the way anyone who suggested an idea other than the party's "eternal triangle" of the Jewish people, Eretz Yisrael and the Torah, was doomed to disapproval, to demands that such views have no place in the party.

It was unlikely that the voices of Unna and others like him - kibbutznik Efraim Kreitzler, for example - would make much of an impact. Kreitzler railed against those who would "chase after extremism," warning that "extremism has no limits: the Likud is afraid of Tehiya and Tehiya is afraid of Kahane."

Perhaps the man who put the whole thing into perspective was an Arab, his name lost in the chatter of the convention delegates, who heads the party's Arabic department.

He spoke softly and slowly and gently, saying that the vast majority of Israeli Arabs rejected the violence of last Monday's Arab strike. "It was a handful, a tiny minority," he said, insisting that it was right to strike "but only in a good way, a quiet way, a peaceful way."

He ended his short speech with a call for equality for Arabs in the country, in the party. "And let those who believe in throwing out the Arabs find their place in Tehiya and Kahane, not in the National Religious Party." There was polite and scattered applause and then the rush for the door for the hotel luncheon.

Afterwards the delegates would vote on the proposed platform.

Unna had called it "not as extreme as its earlier drafts, but deliberately provocative, deliberately extreme." The platform's success with the majority of the delegates was almost a foregone conclusion.

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שלום עכשיו

The year that Santa Claus left town

Reporter Abraham Rabinovich goes to Bethlehem with photographer Frank Smith



FIRE BOMBED in Bethlehem, Santa Claus is among the minor casualties in the past fortnight's violence.

"I was Moslem fanatics who did it," says a local Arab Christian, referring to the slightly blackened billboard figure on Manger Street. "They don't want festivities this year. We've even had to cancel all the Christmas parties at hotels. There were telephone threats. They said they would come to our breakfast before we go home to sleep."

From Mayor Elias Freij's window in City Hall, an Israeli patrol can be seen moving through Manger Square, rifles slung across the chest for quick deployment. The three young soldiers scan the square alertly, even the one with a walkman plugged into his ears, but neither they nor the crowd they pass through seem to see each other. The young soldiers and the local Palestinians flow past each other like fish in the sea. Who are the fish, who the sea?

IN THE GROTTO of the Church of the Nativity, an elderly French couple sit on a bench with their eyes closed, five metres from the spot revered as Jesus's birthplace. It is Christmas week but with the dearth of pilgrims they have the space all to themselves for a quarter hour. Had they not been apprehensive about coming? "In the providence of God," says the woman, "we are protected entirely."

MAYOR FREIJ glances through the Arabic and English-language newspapers on the coffee table and winces when he sees the headline quoting an American warning to tourists to exercise care about visiting the occupied territories. "Why did they have to say that?"

Even without the State Department's intervention, however, the mayor knows that Santa Claus this year has headed the advisory issued by the local militants and got out of town. "People here aren't even buying presents for their children. They aren't in a Christmas spirit."

It was Freij himself who delivered the *coup de grace* by cancelling the mayor's traditional Christmas Eve reception. Since 1967, the reception has been a distinctive event, creating for a few hours an Everyman's land where Israeli, Christian and Moslem dignitaries mingle on Arab turf in the holiday's special aura. Political differences temporarily laid aside. With the territories now at peace and even Israeli Arabs displaying solidarity, the astute mayor decided that this Christmas could not be as all Christians.

"The Arab people are sick and tired of the continuing occupation," he says. "People are frustrated by all the talk about movement towards peace. They've come to the conclusion that it's just talk. They are very apprehensive about the size and number of Israeli settlements. Arab towns and villages have become enclaves."

"When some Israelis say they will never withdraw from the territories, it increases the sense of desperation, especially among the young. Talk by some Israeli extremists about 'transfer' and expulsion heightens the tension. The move of Mr. Sharon to an old house in (Jerusalem's) Muslim Quarter was a confrontation to humiliate the Arabs. It was a demonstration to prove that the conqueror is stronger than the conquered. The Arabs also feel that Israel deals with the settlers who commit crimes against Arabs with kid gloves and treats Arab kids with bullets and an iron fist."

"In the refugee camps, living conditions are worsening - sewage runs through the streets. All these factors, after 20 years of occupation and with no end in sight, are the reasons behind all this."

Nevertheless, he hastens to add, Palestinians still seek a negotiated settlement. "I would see some kind of Benelux system that would serve the mutual interests of both people."

The mayor scans the papers again and looks up. "Did Teddy cancel his Hanukkah reception? I haven't seen anything about it." (Jerusalem's

Mayor Kofek did not cancel his reception.)

BASTION OF Palestinian moderation, Bethlehem has been severely tested during the past two weeks. There was some stone-throwing and tyre-burning but not enough to provoke a forceful response from the army.

The town's moderation stems from its relatively small number of refugees, from the influence of the declining but still powerful Christian Arab population, and from a pragmatism developed during generations of doing business with visitors.

The primary business of Bethlehem is business, not piety. Business for Bethlehem's merchants embraces their entire way of life with a universality broader than any religion's. The soldier with the gun and the militant with the petrol bomb are not only a potential danger but a potential customer. More than one Israeli reservist striking up a conversation with Bethlehem shopkeepers during a tour of duty has returned in civilian clothing a month later to do business. Business for the shopkeepers seems to be not just a vehicle for accumulating wealth but an instrument of communion. Such universality sometimes makes for blurred political edges.

"We've lived under the Turks, the British, the Jordanians and the Israelis," says "Uncle" Philip. "We don't care who rules us as long as we can make a decent living."

Half-a-dozen relatives and friends sit at the back of his large souvenir shop. The front room, which should be filled with tourists this Christmas week, is empty. One of the group in the circle chatting amiably in Arabic over coffee turns out to be a Jewish taxi driver from Jerusalem who sometimes brings tourists to the shop.

The shopowner's cousin visiting from the United States says he will watch midnight mass on television this Christmas Eve rather than go to the Church of the Nativity, for fear of a terrorist attack.

"You don't know what security is like on Christmas," says Uncle Phil-



ip. "The soldiers check everybody coming into town and into Manger Square. There's nothing to worry about."

There have been more troubled times in the past, he says. During the Arab uprising in 1938, the British mounted machine guns on roofs near Manger Square and there would sometimes be firing all night.

The American cousin, a Palestine-born engineer who grew up in Bethlehem, suggests that the situation could become much worse again in the future if Israel pulls out of the West Bank. "I see on American television what Palestinians have done to each other in the Lebanese refugee camps. If the refugees come back here from Lebanon and Jordan, they will want equality, economic equality. Our family has

stores and houses. We don't want to give them up."

LIKE UNCLE Philip, the 65-year-old pharmacist near the market place has seen many rulers. "Right goes with force," he says with a sad smile. "If you are strong, you are right. If you are rich, they say you are right. That is the law of nature. We here are rabbits."

His main complaint about the current rulers is the value added tax implemented about two years ago and the heavy fines imposed on shopkeepers who do not keep their books properly. "They fine you more than all your goods are worth. It's impossible. Even Hitler didn't do it to the Jews. If you want the population to be tranquil at least let them live."

A 22-year-old student named



Bethlehem mayor Elias Freij opens his Christmas mail... "The moderates are the silent majority." Below, local merchant Imad Abdeh: ... Fewer tourists, less business.



George who joins the conversation takes exception to the pharmacist's analogy about rabbits. The Palestinians had just been proving they were not rabbits and they would fight until they got their independent state - independent from Jordan as well as from Israel.

The pharmacist said he wanted compensation for the property his family had held in Jaffa and Jerusalem but George says the Palestinians must get their land back, not money. There can be no peace unless Israel permits Arab refugees to return to their villages even though these sites are now occupied by Israeli towns. "We didn't invite the Jews to come here from Europe," he says. "We have the right to send them back."

The pharmacist smiles his sad smile. "You see," he tells a visitor, "the

younger generation is much more militant than we and their children will be even worse." After a pause, he adds: "Worse for Israel, of course."

DESPITE THE disorder, the cynicism and the explosive frustrations, Mayor Freij continues to see moderation triumphing. "The moderates are the silent majority. They will survive despite the extremists on both sides. They will survive because they are the most practical, pragmatic people."

Inside the Church of the Nativity, television crews are setting up equipment and someone is testing the organ with a leisurely rendition of "Silent Night." In a few hours, Bethlehem will be broadcasting its message of peace and goodwill to the world.

An Arabic voice of truth

TALK TO Yusef Bar-El, director of Arabic Television or to Edmond Sehayek, director of Israel Radio's Arabic Language Services and you'll notice that the dominant word in the conversation is "credibility."

Both Arabic TV and Israel Radio's Arabic Service have a tremendous following in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip and in countries throughout the region. A survey conducted by the BBC in Egyptian cities in 1984 to determine the popularity of foreign Arabic radio services, put Israel in second place after Radio Monte Carlo.

Of people polled, 39.8 per cent said they listened to Radio Monte Carlo, 26.4 per cent to Israel Radio, 25 per cent to the BBC and 23.9 per cent to the Voice of America. A dozen or so other foreign broadcasting services, including Radio Moscow, scored very low ratings.

According to Sehayek, it was semantics which put Radio Monte Carlo ahead of Israel. Whereas Israel refers to the administered territories and to terrorists, Radio Monte Carlo in a report on the same subject will talk of the occupied territories and of freedom fighters.

But otherwise, the Arabs are generally inclined to tune into Israel

from where the news is prompt, comprehensive, generally accurate and far more objective than anything they get at home.

During the recent seven-and-a-half weeks strike by Israel Broadcasting Authority journalists, Bar-El and Sehayek received an avalanche of requests to resume broadcasts.

Arabic language broadcasts are intended to serve the Arabic-speaking population. The promotion of understanding and peace with neighbouring states is listed in the Broadcasting Authority Law's basic provisions. Neither Bar-El nor Sehayek interprets that as propaganda. Both, with the blessing and endorsement of IBA director general Uri Porat, have instructed their reporters not to dilute the news. The challenge is to be in the right place at the right time in order to present a fast, objective impression of the news of the moment.

THAT'S ALL well and good when life is tranquil. But what about the recent spate of shootings, petrol bombs, tyre-burning, stone-throwing and tear-gas? Should ATV and Israel Radio's Arabic Services be reporting these things in detail or

even at all? The response from both Bar-El and Sehayek is emphatic and affirmative.

Aside from professional considerations, they point out, it's futile to put a freeze on any aspect of the news, because so many Arabs understand Hebrew. To suppress or distort news would forever put the stations' credibility in doubt.

Each quotes Porat's instructions that in reporting the news, journalists have to tell it as it is, but in a non-inflammatory manner. It's the latter part of those instructions which is giving the electronic media reporting in Arabic a headache.

The rule, to which Bar-El insists his staff adhere, is to make the distinction between reportage and analysis. The latter can easily be inflammatory. If a reporter speculates that stones may be thrown in a certain place the following day, hundreds of youngsters listening to or watching the broadcast may be encouraged to participate.

On the other hand, if reporters know for a fact that a large-scale demonstration is planned and that the army and Border Police will be there, they are obliged to report this. Parents, they argue, are entitled to have such information from the

media so they can decide whether to keep their children away from a potentially dangerous area.

What are the guidelines for television? Just how much of a demonstration should be screened? What sort of self-censorship should be applied, if at all?

Arabic TV is sensitive to the fact that to young viewers riot leaders may become instant heroes to be emulated, so the camera, while not ignoring them, does not linger too long.

The Arabic services differ little from the Hebrew in their news focus, but their priorities and their emphases are sometimes at variance. For instance, where Israel Television and the Hebrew radio news may blow up a peripheral issue, the Arabic services will give it the briefest mention, and will squeeze it in somewhere towards the end of the broadcast.

What is a peripheral issue? In Bar-El's book, it's a politician in an election year making a highly controversial statement to attract media attention. Bar-El will not provide any such politician with a platform - and certainly not at the expense of the Arab population. Sehayek, searching for balance, may

Israel broadcasts have a wide following in the neighbouring countries. Greer Fay Cashman reports

allow the statement to air, but only if he gets an opposite reaction from a senior political source, preferably from the politician's own party.

As for genuine news, he may sometimes delay the broadcast of a particular item at the specific request of a high-ranking security officer, but he will not kill the item - particularly if it has already been broadcast on another network.

Having to hold back is one of the bane of his life and a source of frustration to all his news staff. There are many times when Israel Radio's Arabic Service is first with a really hot piece of news, especially something emanating from the West Bank or the Gaza Strip, where local Arabs work as free-lancers. But, they say, they may miss their scoop

if the censor holds the item back until another network latches on to it.

Unlike the Hebrew Radio, Sehayek sees no sense in broadcasting any incident involving stone-throwing or tyre-burning if no one is hurt and no real damage is done. However, he will finish off a news bulletin with an item about a petrol bomb, even if it failed to do any damage.

Arabic TV gave more coverage than ITV to the recent spate of Arab unrest, because, explains Bar-El, "it affects the whole of the Arab population, but not the whole of the Jewish population. No one walking down Dizengoff Street, saw any Arab demonstration," he contends.

With only one or two exceptions, all the key Arab leaders in the terri-

tories have been interviewed on Arabic Radio or Arabic TV, and they have been allowed to express themselves freely. This often causes amazement among Arab viewers. "In an Arab country you'd be incarcerated or strung up," they tell Bar-El.

This freedom of expression draws them like a magnet.

In this connection, Bar-El mentions the recent Arab summit in Amman. The Arab leaders were all seen but not heard on Jordan TV. What viewers saw was an endless parade of tarmac welcomes, hugs and kisses and pressing of flesh - but not a single leader was interviewed on camera. The only sound accompanying the stream of handshakes was the voice of the announcer.

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Gush 'liberal' is interviewed by Benny Morris

YOEL BIN-NUN, the "liberal" in Gush Emunim's directing secretariat (*mazkirut*), seems to believe that Israel's problems in the territories can be solved, or substantially neutralized, by the elimination of the West Bank and Gaza Strip refugee camps.

"The Arab states did nothing about the refugees during the 20 years from 1948 to 1967," he says. "They treated the refugees with contempt. And we have perpetuated the same line. We have done nothing about the problem since. They are the main fuel of the flames."

"The camps are a swamp. You don't, on the national level, solve the problem of mosquitoes that are attacking you by killing them off individually. It is ridiculous. We are fighting a war against the swamp. And we must dry the swamp."

Bin-Nun, one of the founders and residents of Ofra, east of Ramallah, was born in Haifa in 1946. Educated in a religious high school, he began his military service in Nahal and became a paratrooper. The 55th brigade, with which he took part in the battle for Jerusalem in 1967, lost 100 dead, and, he says, "it was not mere chance that many of the leaders of Gush Emunim and Peace Now emerged from that brigade."

He himself was a prime mover in founding the Etzion Bloc in 1968, but eight years later, "for personal and national reasons," he helped to establish Ofra.

Today, Bin-Nun teaches in the Gush Etzion yeshiva and is headmaster of the regional girls' yeshiva high school.

IN OUR INTERVIEW, he distinguishes sharply between the veteran, permanent inhabitants of the administered territories and the refugee communities that have filled the camps since 1948.

"One can't generalize," he says. "There's no such thing as 'all the Arabs want or think this or that.' But he concedes that none of them, on either side of the Green Line, wants Israel here. However, the inhabitants of the villages and towns are much less extreme, much less inimical to Israeli rule and Zionist aspirations than the refugees."

"They have everything they need. They have citizenship, jobs, they can travel to Amman. Their standard of living has greatly improved. Some of the older ones say openly that they have lived under the

Camp residents should be given homes in areas

Turks, the British and the Israelis, and the Israelis are better than their predecessors.

"The truth is," he says, "that the conditions in which the refugees live are insufferable. They haven't benefited from the general prosperity. Leaving their conditions as they are is bad for us. Solving the problem of the camps is essential and critical."

Ideally, says Bin-Nun, the problem should be resolved within the framework of "a comprehensive peace settlement." In that settlement, he would like to see the Arab states agree to absorb the West Bank and Gaza refugee communities within their own territories.

But he acknowledges that no such settlement is either imminent, or at present practicable. "Maybe there will be peace in 100 years' time. Maybe in 50." Meanwhile, the refugees remain the yeast that brings the territories to fermentation.

BIN-NUN PROPOSES that the government immediately tackle the problem of the camps. He has what amounts to a two-stage proposal.

"First, we must get the UN, UNRWA, out of the camps. It is politically difficult. I don't see our government doing it. But it needs doing, when the right opportunity occurs." He believes there are opportunities in the past, "such as when the UN General Assembly passed the 'Zionism equals racism' resolution."

The "refugee identity card" and the UN's assistance programmes eternalize the situation, he says, especially the free health and education services; less so, the free food. "We must erase the camps," he declares. "As long as the refugees are in them, in the conditions which obtain, they will dream of a return to Jaffa."

"They must be resettled here, in the territories. There is sufficient room here for both further Jewish settlement and refugee resettlement."



Yoel Bin-Nun (Yakir Zar)

ment," he says, taking issue with the Tehiya-Young NRP line, which calls for the refugees' "transfer" to Arab countries.

He concedes that such resettlement would require the amount of land available for future Jewish settlement, "which is a shame, but what can you do?"

He says that the resettlement schemes do not have to be on the Build Your Own Home level of construction, with a dunam per family. "They must build upwards," he says, looking heavenwards, as if at some skyscraper's pinnacle.

BIN-NUN FORESEES that were Israel to eradicate the camps and resettle the refugee communities in new locations, "there would be a howl of protest in the world."

The "voluntary, agreed transfer" proposals being bandied about by such as Minister-without-Portfolio Yosef Shapira are nonsense, he says. "Who will agree to them, who will agree to absorb the refugees?"

"And to carry out a compulsory, coerced transfer is immoral. We must not expel a civilian population. To speak of doing so is to speak of total war. For only in a total war situation could such a thing happen.

And then we would be speaking of a war with the dimensions of the War of Independence....

"Whoever says we should cause such a war, in order to prepare the conditions for that kind of transfer, is crazy," says Bin-Nun.

But he adds as a rider that should the Arab world bring about such a war, the responsibility for whatever happened to the refugees would be theirs.

Turning obliquely to the current troubles, Bin-Nun says:

"I fear that those seeking to drag the Arab world into such a war are gaining control of the Arab West Bank and Gaza public. The PLO's tactics are to provoke a mass rebellion or buds of a rebellion to drag the Middle East into a war, to drag Egypt into cancelling the peace treaty, which would mean war."

He admits that the PLO's headquarters abroad are "marginal" in fomenting the recent troubles. "But they have local tools and leadership to carry this out. And there is no leadership in the West Bank and Gaza apart from the PLO."

WHICH BRINGS Bin-Nun to his second proposal for "drying the swamp."

There is the local leadership, he says. "It is absurd that we are busy bombing PLO headquarters as far afield as Tunis and Lebanon when here, in East Jerusalem, we allow a Palestinian leadership to function within the borders."

He doesn't use the terms "administrative detention" and "expulsion"; but it is clear that that is what he has in mind for the local Palestinian leaders, whom he holds responsible for organizing and inciting the current riots.

"If we touch their leadership, there will be a howl of protest in the world," he says, but this must be done if we want quiet in the territories. The world would be far more incensed by this than it has been by the shooting of children, but somehow, he says everybody accepts that.

Does the shooting of children and youths trouble him? Yes, it does, but he immediately turns to the Lebanon War.

"After we threw the PLO leaders and forces from Beirut, the Phalange committed the massacres in Sabra and Shatila in Beirut. This was a terrible situation from a moral point of view," he says, clearly im-

(Continued on page 11)

'Give the troops the tools and they'll do the job'

Minister Haim Corfu talks to Reporter Asher Wallfish

"I DO NOT accept the excuse of the security forces that they lack the budget to buy the kind of water-cannon riot-control truck which is exported from Israel to South Africa and France."

"The money spent on one truck would have paid for itself many times over, in the past two-and-a-half weeks by what would have been saved on medical care for members of the security forces and the Arab rioters; on lost work hours on both sides; and on property damage. Not to mention the great harm caused by the casualties to this country's image overseas."

"Such an approach, on the part of those responsible for riot control, can only be called a disgrace."

This blast came from no other than the Likud veteran, Transport Minister Haim Corfu, in an interview with *The Post* the day after the cabinet session where the ministers were told that the security forces would crack down harder than ever before on Arab rioters in the occupied areas and Israel alike.

The ultra-modern water trucks, manufactured at Mapam's Kibbutz Beit Alfa, are highly-rated by South African and French security authorities whose no-nonsense policy towards rioters is well-known and who prefer to avoid casualties to demonstrators where possible—even though they are held to be much less sensitive to public opinion than the Israeli administration. Security authorities have been bogged down for several months in negotiations with the kibbutz manufacturing plant in an effort to get better purchase terms. During that time the rioters have sustained dead and wounded and the security forces have been bloodied in close-quarters clashes.

Corfu, the antithesis of an emotional politician whether inside his own traditionally-clamorous Likud or in the Knesset at large, used the term "disgrace" a second time when he blamed IDF officers who send their men into "action" against deadly stone-throwers without wearing steel helmets to protect the part of the body which is most vulnerable to the projectiles.

"I see it all too often on the television and I wonder what goes on," he admitted.

"We were told that the wave of violence this month took us by surprise, but I regard that as a poor excuse," Corfu said. "There have been countless riots and violent demonstrations before, and it is high time that the deployment and the training and the equipment of units involved in riot-control enables us to react promptly and therefore effectively."

THE MINISTER has already said elsewhere that the police arrived late on the scene in last Saturday's Jerusalem riots: "In a main thoroughfare like Salah e-Din Street, how come the bank branches' burglar alarms did not bring a squad car onto the scene fast? And, assuming the alarms may not have gone off, how come the police did not hear of the break-in at the outset through other means such as their grapevine? Unlike sporadic stone-throwing or tire-burning, surely a physical penetration of a building could have been nipped in the bud," he asked rhetorically.

Corfu admits that "the experts" have a reputation for sticking in the mud and for continuing to offer mistaken counsel too long before becoming flexible at long last and suggesting changes.

"We all know about the harmful effect of preconceived notions about what the other side plans to do, and is capable of doing," he admitted. "But we also know that after repeated mistakes and delays, our experts come up with answers which we and indeed the world as well recognize as highly effective. We have worsted the PLO and the other terrorist organizations militarily, and we have blocked their hijackers and their saboteurs. We have neutralized the threat posed by gunmen and knife-men."

"Now what our experts must look for is a much better solution to the problem posed by the stones and the Molotov cocktails hurled by individual Arabs who are not directed by any outside organization, who probably belong to no organization, and who have never got training in hostile actions or specific orders to carry out an operation," Corfu said.

"Our first recourse, therefore, will be to act post factum. Some of the 'spontaneous' riots are the work of organizers and inciters, and we have to locate them, however hard that will be, so that we can lock them up or deport them after due process. We have the men to take care of that. We must also arrest violent demonstrators on the spot more frequently."

Discussing the role of the press, the minister said that he would ask the prime minister to confer with the newspaper editors "to discuss coverage of future violence on the basis of the criterion 'reasonable proportion', which also means 'genuine news merit,'" he said. "A lot of events could be published in two or three lines. Others would certainly require full stories."

"It is my own personal opinion, but I feel that the presentation of the coverage of riots should aim to give the facts, and even if it is not conducive to a positive psychological effect on the readers or viewers, it should at least not be designed so as to generate precisely a negative psychological effect," he said.

The minister said that "while I wouldn't say that the events this month constituted a trauma which shocked us into action, we have definitely shifted gear under the irresistible pressure of the events and the reaction of the security forces to those events."

"Now that we know Arab rioters won't be scared by the mere sight of an Israeli soldier carrying a gun and scamp off, we have to give that soldier the tools, the techniques, and the back-up to get the rioter to think twice. We can do it."

The Bright and the Black

Philip Gillon's Telereview

LET US BEGIN with a bright programme that shone in the abysmal darkness of the week, like Juliet hanging upon the darkness of the night, a good deed in a naughty world. This was Sunday's *Journey to My People*, the documentary about the reunion between Israeli singers, dancers and musicians who went to a festival in Russia 30 years ago and the Jews they met there. These Russian Jews defied the Soviet authorities to come and see the mystical Israelis from the Promised Land. At secret meetings they promised that they would meet again some day in Israel.

It seemed an impossible dream at the time. Yet Moshe Netzer recalled that Ben-Gurion prophesied that in 10 to 12 years they would get out. They did. A decade after that festival, one of them — a woman of remarkable strength called Pinna Brodetskiya — after spending years in

Siberia, came to Israel. She was one of the 18 Georgians who signed the famous letter to Kossigin demanding free emigration for Jews. They sent a copy to Golda Meir. We heard Golda's voice reading the letter — she certainly knew how to curdle the blood when reading a cry for freedom from the remote depths of the USSR.

So, 30 years after the festival, the Russian immigrants living in Israel and the survivors among the artists had a grand get-together outside Jerusalem. It ended with some marvelous folk-singing.

The film somehow captured the days of our lost innocence, before our cause and our ideals were sullied by the gains and guilt that followed the Six Day War, and that have brought us to such a desperate pass today. It was sentimental, inspiring, bringing a lump to the throat.

While I watched, I thought how

well so many of those Russian immigrants have done in Israel. After their early years of travail, they have settled down to become major contributors to our society. I meet them in hospitals, offices, banks; all are pillars of the community.

But it would be dishonest to ignore the irony of what happened. The Russians agreed to let our people go, and many of them went to the Golden Land of the Promised land. I wonder how many of those who endured such hardships to meet the Israelis at the festival are here, and how many are in New York.

There was no consolation apparent in an *Empty World*, a *Second Look*, a programme about the hardships endured by many of the 2,000 Russian artists who have settled here. I must confess that my impression was that the Russian artists had done very well — I have often cited the example of the Beersheba Symphony Orchestra as proof of how the Russians brought their culture to a desert town that had hitherto concentrated on soccer rather than music.

Unfortunately, not all the Russians found jobs with the Beersheba orchestra. We were introduced to several who had been famous in Russia and now cannot find work. Natasha Totson, a pianist who had been a child prodigy and who was a silver medalist in the Arthur Rubinstein competition, cannot find any

audience apart from her husband and child. The same applies to other musicians, singers, songwriters, actors and directors.

We were told that there were many components to the problem. First of all, there was the all-important difference that in the USSR the state takes care of all talented people; they have no worries about audiences or money. Here it is all private initiative and enterprise. Yuri Portnoy, a guitarist and songwriter, ended up a dental mechanic. Then there is a difference in professional approach — the Russians believe in feeling and soul, the West in thought and technique.

Professor Eli Tsemach said that above all there was an identity crisis. The artist wondered who and what he was in relation to his environment. Like George Meredith, he could find only dusty answers when hot for certainties. He ended in an intellectual vacuum.

It was a poignant but fascinating programme. Let us hope that it will motivate someone to find solutions for the Russian artists.

NOW WE COME to the dark side of the moon, the dreadful events that we saw on the news. We heard Vice-Premier Shimon Peres unctuously declaring that this is no time to review what members of the Likud or Tehiya are saying, that we must present a united front until

everything is quiet again. This demagoguery may be good for vote-catching, but I suspect it was inspired somewhat by Peres's folly in remaining abroad when he should obviously have rushed back home to try to provide some leadership during the crisis.

Anyway, I couldn't disagree with Peres more about whether this is the time to draw conclusions and accounts. Of course it is. Afterwards, when calm returns, everybody will go back to whatever intellectual retreats they were hiding from reality in.

Some left-wingers have talked about the successful identification of the Israeli Arabs with the Palestinians in the occupied areas as if it was something new, the birth of a nation. I am delighted that they are doing so, but I don't agree that the Palestinian nation has just been born. It has always been there.

For decades the late Elie Eliahar derided the nonsense about there being no such thing as an Arab nation. He recalled that, at the end of World War I, Menahem Ussishkin had said, "For me, and for us, the Jewish people, there exists only and solely the Jewish Problem. There is no such thing as an Arab Problem."

The events that we saw on the news made abundantly clear the truth that the Palestinians are a people, a nation, just as the Jews are. And we have to do something about

it, apart from restoring calm. In a late night dialogue between Uri Landau MK and an Arab, Dr. Abassi, Landau, looking very shifty-eyed, refused to answer Abassi's very simple question, "The Arabs accept the right of Israel to exist. Do you accept the rights of the Arabs to exist?"

Landau thought he was being clever when he said, "Arabs can have all rights in Israel, but no rights on Israel."

What does this mean? That, the Arabs within the Green Line can be citizens provided they do not identify with their brethren in the occupied areas, who are to have no rights?

Few right-wingers spell out their solutions, although some of them talk of "transfer." Most dream vaguely that the Arabs, like the thoughts that infest our day in Longfellow's poem, "will fold their tents like the Arabs, and silently steal away." They believe that the good Lord will somehow get the Arabs to disappear.

In 1909, George Bernard Shaw described in his farce, *Pygmalion*, the method suggested by his General Mitchener to deal with the

suffragette problem. "Shoot them down... Strange as it may seem to you as a civilian, Balesquith, if you point a rifle at a woman and fire it, she will drop exactly as a man drops. There is no such thing as public opinion. There are certain persons who entertain certain opinions. Well, shoot them down. When you have shot them down, there are no longer any persons entertaining those opinions alive..."

This is not as funny as it once was, in the light of Hitler's use of mass extermination to "solve" the Jewish and other questions. Yet it sounds mighty like the way many Israelis have been talking about the Arabs of the occupied areas and even Israel.

And of course it won't work here. I may be a starry-eyed idealist still, despite all that has happened, but I don't believe that Jews have the stomach to go on and on shooting down unarmed men, women and children. That being the case, the time has come — now, not in the remote future — to decide how we propose to have two nations living in peace and harmony in the land that was Palestine under the British Mandate.

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Common sense and censorship

The minister was happy to welcome the foreign guests and even happier to inform them, in case it had escaped their attention, that "Carrying on the traditions of our forefathers and the prophets who walked the streets of this city... Israel is one of the most advanced countries as far as freedom of the press is concerned." And not only that, but "There is complete freedom of the press in Judea, Samaria and the Gaza Strip."

Matt Nesvisky

Brennan's address was an object lesson in clarity, organization and sustained argument. His thesis was forcefully put: The U.S. has a long history of failing to preserve civil liberties when it perceived its security was threatened. After each crisis, America regretfully realized that curtailment of rights had been unnecessary. It also failed to identify those persons supposedly responsible for the threat. Yet each time another perceived threat came along, it curtailed rights all over again.

Brennan gave five examples. The first was in 1778 when, as he noted, with "the ink hardly dry on the Bill of Rights," Congress was using the Alien and Sedition Acts to round up and prosecute opposition newspaper editors because of a suspicion that war was brewing with France. Then during the Civil War, President Lincoln suspended *habeas corpus* and between 20,000 and 30,000 citizens were arrested, held without trial or placed in preventive detention.

During World War I, Brennan went on, the Senate considered a bill that would have declared the entire country a military zone, placing justice in the hands of military tribunals. It opted not to do that, but with the Espionage Act of 1917 and its amendment the following year, it became a crime

to utter, write or publish anything scurrilous or false about the U.S., its government, its flag or its policies.

Aimed largely at silencing pacifists and anti-war organizations, Brennan said, the law effectively meant that "opinions were held to be false factual statements," and persons could even be prosecuted for criticism of such institutions as the Red Cross and the YMCA.

In the next world war, Brennan went on, some 120,000 Japanese-American citizens were interned - an action declared by a commission in 1980 as "a grave injustice and totally unnecessary." And in the Cold War of the 1950s, several acts of Congress led to widespread harassment of citizens on the pretext of preventing the overthrow of the government.

Each instance, Brennan concluded, showed the "American tendency to panic in times of crisis." The restrictive laws were usually shown to be both unnecessary and unconstitutional - but only long after the perceived danger had passed. The lesson to be drawn from this, he said, was that "abstract principles of civil liberties are ineffective during times of crisis unless bolstered by law."

Finally, Brennan turned to Israel, where he acknowledged that threats to security are very real. Precisely because of this, he said, "Israel perhaps may provide the best hope in forming good jurisprudence." Citing recent Israeli high court rulings on issues of free expression, Brennan said that, "In this crucible of danger lies the opportunity to form jurisprudence that could be a model for the world... to build bulwarks of liberty."

Brennan's remarks indeed proved to be the keynote during the subsequent two days of the conference. Next morning, for example, the audience heard from American lawyer Floyd Abrams, an expert on the First Amendment, the Bill of Rights article guaranteeing free speech.

Noting that he has visited Israel some 20 times, Abrams said that each time he lectures in this country, he suspects that many people in his audience are not receptive to his message. Nevertheless, he delivered it once again, as fully as possible: "Exposure and a free press," he said, "are not only consistent with national security, they add to it." This was as much true in the Shin Bet scandal, he added, as it is in the matter of TV coverage of

West Bank riots. Abrams declined to accept that President Herzog actually admired the press curbs in the Falklands and Grenada affairs, but whatever the case, he said, as far as limiting or barring the press from the territories, his advice was: "Don't even think about it."

ABRAMS THEN went on to discuss the famed Pentagon Papers case, which he was involved with 16 years ago. When the U.S. government sought to prevent *The New York Times* from publishing secret documents relating to the Vietnam War, he said, numerous government witnesses testified that publication would do "irreparable harm" to America's national security.

The Supreme Court, however, was not convinced, the papers were published, and years later, Abrams said, when he interviewed those witnesses for a newspaper article, not one even suggested that a national security had been compromised. "We have become suspicious to the point of cynicism each time the national security argument is raised," he concluded.

Since then, the attorney noted, the U.S. government is less inclined to seek prior restraint of the press, preferring to maintain government secrets from the other direction by plugging leaks.

State Department legal adviser Abraham Sofaer took up this theme, expressing the view that "trying to restrain is counterproductive," since it only draws publicity to the contentious material the press wants to publish and antagonizes the press, making it even more adversarial towards the government. Sofaer seemed to be of the opinion that if a government wants something secret, it is the government's job to keep it secret, and not that of the press.

Yet he bemoaned the propensity (and expense) for classifying government documents (some 20 million items) and for "compartmentalizing" information as a means of control. "The ultimate in compartmentalizing," he noted dryly, "might lie with Admiral Poindexter - who didn't see fit to share information with the president."

Lawrence Grossman, president of NBC News, warned of excessive reliance on leakers - "sleeping with our sources" - and said that if anything, the press did not do enough in terms of gathering the facts on its own.

Grossman, whose news organization earlier this year screened the controversial documentary on the territories called *Six Days Plus Twenty Years: A Dream Is Dying*, acknowledged that the press must be responsible, but added that the test of freedom is to allow irresponsibility. Invoking Justice Brennan, Grossman added that what seems an irresponsible viewpoint at one moment may prove later on to be the most responsible view of all.

Grossman also took the opportunity to suggest that President Herzog "really couldn't believe"

demonstrators turn violent only when TV cameras are present. Demonstrators do perform for the cameras, he said, but his crews have orders not to film when crowds seem to be inspired by their presence.

"Demonstrators want to get attention, just as governments do," he noted, but added that the military had not been drawn out there to the territories because of the TV cameras.

In any event, Grossman saw no substitute for exercising freedom of the press. "If you apply cosmetics to a sore," he said, "you only get blood poisoning."

Different restraints figured in the talks of two other speakers. Each had been scheduled to speak on the Vanunu case, but since the matter was still *sub judice*, they had to change their topics. Hebrew University law professor Ruth Gavison wittily suggested that she would therefore be happy to discuss *sub judice*. But instead she lectured on the secrecy surrounding anything in this country relating to atomic energy.

Gavison noted that maintaining ambiguity about Israeli nuclear capability vis-a-vis the Arab states was useful and perhaps even necessary, but the limits on information at home created difficulties. In the 1950s, she said, a number of scientists resigned from Israel's Atomic Energy Commission because of policy disputes - but even the fact of their resignation was censored. How, she asked, can we even discuss the disposal of nuclear wastes if we cannot even acknowledge that we have nuclear materials? More importantly, if we do not have confidence in leaders' use of conventional warfare, should we trust their attitudes towards unconventional arms?

Another speaker who had expected the Vanunu case to be completed by the time of the conference was Dr. Yoel Cohen of both the Hebrew University and Bar-Ilan. He opted instead for a detailed analysis of censorship during the Falklands invasion, when Britain excluded foreign journalists and hand-picked a mere 27 local newsmen and technicians (out of 500 applicants) to accompany the task force. Well after the conflict, Cohen said, the Ministry of Defence complained that the restrictions had been counterproductive.

Counterproductivity was a theme that resounded throughout the rest of the conference. While many acknowledged the need for some limitations on the press in some circumstances, and others made a spirited case for curbing the excesses of the press, the sum of the experiences cited seemed to bear out the contention of Prof. Paul Chevigny of the New York University School of Law; that restricting information not only violates the public's right to know, it is bad for the policymaking process in government.

Or as Floyd Abrams succinctly put it: "Smart countries shouldn't suppress."

No 'wonder drug' for Israel's political ills

Legal authorities discuss the idea of a bill of rights. Charles Hoffman reports

WHILE ISRAELIS may be divided on many issues of the day, such as the peace process or religion and state, there is a fairly broad agreement that Israel's political system is afflicted by a number of problems that require a thorough overhaul. These problems include an indecisive political leadership, an electoral system that fails to represent the people and threats to the rule of law.

"Political reformers sometimes propose a constitution as a cure for many of the country's political ills. But is a constitution some kind of wonder drug that will solve the country's political problems by finding the appropriate legal formulas? If this were true, then the modern world would not be littered with the remnants of constitutions that looked good on paper, but failed to

stop a country from sinking into dictatorship or anarchy.

The problems of constitution-making in Israel and the U.S. were discussed this week at a symposium on this subject sponsored by the Jerusalem Centre for Public Affairs and the U.S. Information Service. The participants included American and Israeli scholars and Israeli political and legal figures.

Some of the participants stressed that Israel's electoral system, for example, could be changed without enacting a constitution. The same is true for a so-called bill of rights, a legally binding comprehensive statement of basic human rights that is now under discussion in a Knesset committee.

Others noted that in many ways Israel already has a constitution, or at least a constitution-in-the-making.

The latter is comprised of the eight Basic Laws passed by the Knesset that define the branches of government - legislative, judicial and executive - and their interrelations. In 1950 this piecemeal approach to constitution-making was adopted by the Knesset, mainly because it could not reach an agreement on the thorny issue of religion and state.

It emerged from the discussions that a constitution as a type of legal document provides certain ways to strengthen the rule of law - one of the foundation stones of any democratic system - that go beyond what may be written in the Basic Laws themselves. This is accomplished by "entrenching" constitutional law so that it is much more difficult to change than regular laws. Only a few provisions of Israel's Basic Laws

are entrenched, which means that a special majority of the Knesset is required to change them.

Another way that a constitution may enhance the rule of law is by providing for "judicial review." This means that the courts, and particularly the Supreme Court, can overturn laws passed by the Knesset on the grounds that they contradict elements of the constitution, which stands above regular laws.

PROFESSOR AMOS SHAPIRA of the Tel Aviv University law faculty noted that even without a constitution, Israel's courts have established a good record in protecting individual freedoms and in checking illegal actions by the government.

He said that over the years the Supreme Court has cited a number of "unwritten constitutional principles"

in its decisions that are part of the English and American heritage of Israel's legal system. Freedom of the press or freedom of speech would be examples of such principles that form the basis of what Shapira called Israel's developing "constitutional common law."

Even though these principles are not enshrined in a document such as the American Bill of Rights, which are the first 10 amendments to the U.S. Constitution, they are used by the courts to interpret legislation. In other words, these principles have more than just moral force in our legal system.

MK Amnon Rubinstein, who also teaches law at Tel Aviv, said that he did "not know of any supreme court outside of Israel that took such an activist approach without a constitution." He cited as an example the

recent decision of the Supreme Court to overturn the government's decision not to extradite William Nakash.

Both he and Shapira argued that the right of judicial review should be entrenched in a constitution. The Supreme Court has exercised this right in a few cases. But these decisions were possible only because the court's authority to exercise this right was not challenged by the attorney-general, who represented the government in these cases.

Shapira stressed that the achievements of Israel's Supreme Court are "partial and vulnerable," due mainly to the fact that the Knesset can simply change the law if it takes exception to a decision of the court based on unwritten constitutional principles. Only an entrenched bill of rights, he said, could provide the

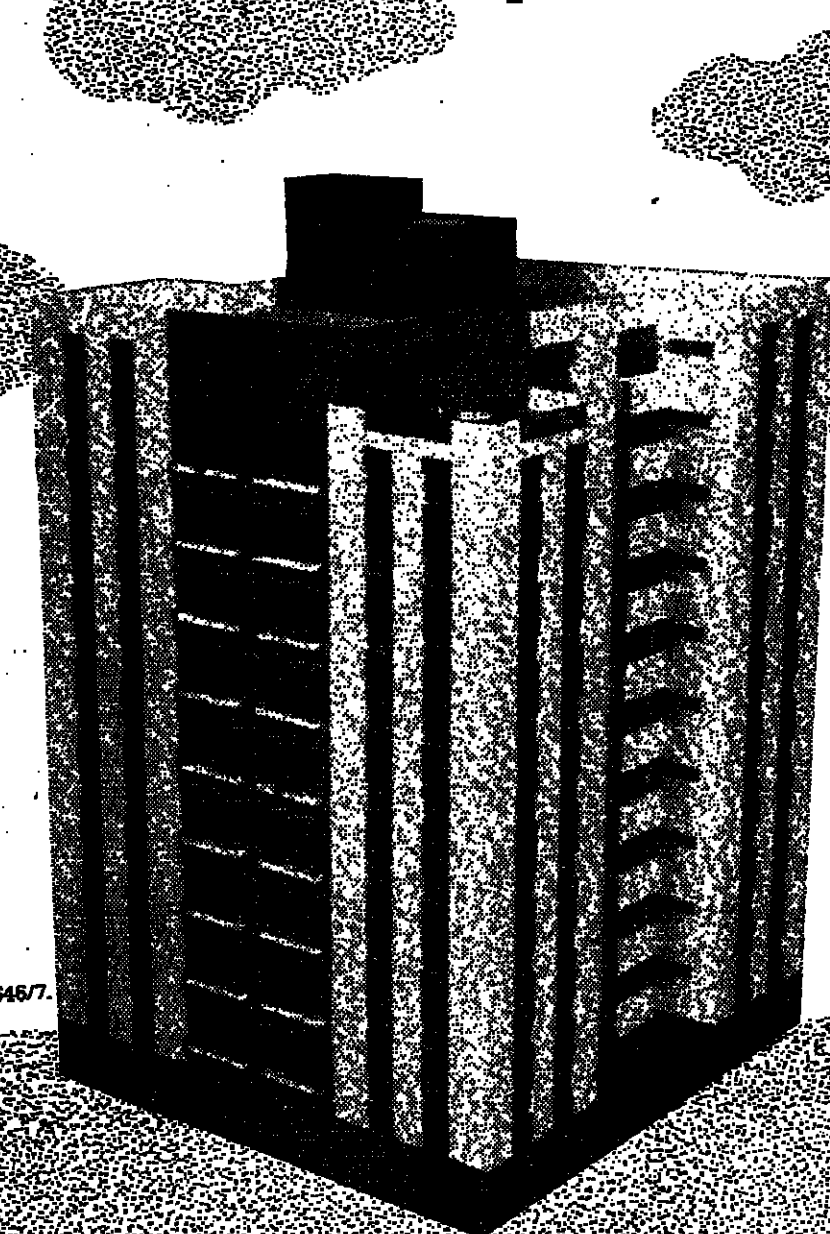
necessary "vigour and legitimacy" for the court's activist approach in the area of human rights, and the legal means to overcome the present legislative supremacy of the Knesset.

AN OPPOSING view was provided, interestingly enough, by former Supreme Court president Moshe Landau. He said that Israel's Basic Laws dealing with the branches of government and their interrelations should be entrenched in a constitutional format. This was needed, he said, citing two examples, to protect the present system of selecting judges, which is non-political; and to prevent a Knesset from indefinitely prolonging its tenure, which it could now conceivably do.

But he said that he is opposed to

(Continued on Page Fifteen)

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After the one-day 'solidarity-with-areas' protest strike

THE ONE-DAY strike of the Israeli Arab community on Monday, which turned violent and threatening in places, came as a distinct shock to Jewish Israel. It is too early as yet to assess the reactions in the Arab community itself, but there are some signs of shock there, too, relating to the fear that the Arabs may have overstepped a very dangerous red line in the relations with the Jewish majority and with Israel's ruling establishment.

Such shocks, however, can be very useful in the life of a nation, in focusing attention on neglected or disputed areas of public policy which are urgently in need of such attention.

Foreign Minister Shimon Peres struck the correct chord in his appearance before a Labour Party forum in which he counselled his colleagues to be extremely careful not to turn the question of the response to the issues raised by the strike into a party dispute between Labour and the Likud. That is a very real danger in what promises to be a no-holds-barred election year, and on an issue that requires a maximum degree of Jewish consensus.

In a way, it is also good that Likud MK Haim Kaufman raised his inane proposal for a reimpementation of the military government of the 1950s and early '60s on areas of concentrated Arab population in the North, for it gave Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir and many of his Likud colleagues an opportunity to shoot it down.

Proposals such as Kaufman's and the frame of mind that lies behind it should clearly be placed beyond the pale of the Israeli consensus, just as the opposite pole — expressed in Mapam's demonstrative support for the strike — must be unequivocally rejected. They both are based on simplistic readings of Israel's Arab minority as being either totally disloyal and subversive, or of being unquestionably loyal Israeli citizens who were merely exercising their democratic right to express collective pain over what has been happening to their fellow Palestinian Arabs in the occupied territories.

The real picture is much more complex. Israel has long been confronted with the problem of how to deal with an Arab minority which has grown to close to 650,000 (not including the 130,000 Arabs of annexed East Jerusalem). Part of this minority is clearly disloyal and potentially subversive in a situation of on-going war with the Arab world; part has just as clearly made its peace with the idea of being loyal citizens in a Jewish Israel; and most, while not being overtly disloyal, are caught in the middle, buffeted by conflicting influences from their immediate Israeli Arab milieu, from Jewish Israel and from the surrounding Arab world.

The behaviour of the Arab community in Monday's strike highlighted those internal divisions on a backdrop of impressive unity around the theme of shared pain over recent events in the occupied territories.

It is a complex reality, made all the more complex by the growing sophistication of the Israeli Arabs. It is a reality which requires a sophisticated and, even more important, a consistent response in policy and its implementation on the part of the Israeli establishment and of Jewish public opinion. A good part of the problem has been the failure to forge such a coherent policy and a woeful lack of consistency in the implementation of whatever passed for piecemeal policy.

WHAT IS needed, first and foremost, is to draw clear lines as to what is permissible and what is impermissible for a presumably loyal minority in an Israel which contin-

Joint dilemma for Israel Arabs and government

Yosef Goell

ues to be at war with an Arab world still intent on its destruction. It is, admittedly, an especially poignant dilemma for the Israeli Arabs that the Palestinian national movement, as truly represented by the PLO, has placed itself at the spearhead of that war. The way in which every individual Israeli Arab, and the Arab community as a whole, choose to resolve that dilemma cannot but be seen as the test of their loyalty by a Jewish Israel.

The PLO is an implacable enemy of Israel. There may come a time when the Palestinian national movement recognizes that its only hope for realizing the legitimate part of its dreams lies in coming to terms with Israel. But until that time comes, an

threats posed by Monday's strike should help in overcoming that difficulty.

One of the disappointments arising out of the events of the past week is that the leaders of the moderate, pragmatic element among Israel's Arabs were cowed into silence and submission at meetings of the national council of the Heads of Arab Local Authorities which decided on the strike. The most they could get was a lame agreement that attempts would be made to keep the strike non-violent. These attempts were successful in many places but clearly failed in a number of dramatic exceptions.

Ever since the national council emerged as a leading political forum

that that determined opposition continue. A Jewish Israel cannot tolerate the risk of an organized Arab national entity in its midst.

If the Arab moderates can bolster their self-confidence sufficiently to get together and wrest control of the council out of the hands of PLO-supporting radicals, directing it towards dealing with the pressing domestic problems of their Arab constituents, it would create another situation. But until that happens, it would be better if the authorities severed whatever relations there are with the council.

The forging of a mainstream Israeli consensus on the internal Arab question also requires that in this election year, a clear position be hammered out on whether parties such as the PLP and Rakah — which have come out in open support of the PLO — should be ruled out of bounds. The legislation making that possible has been passed by the Knesset, in response to the High Court's disallowing of disqualification of the PLP and Kahane's Kach in the last elections. What is needed now is political agreement on the manner and the target of the application of that legislation by the Central Elections Committee in the forthcoming elections. It would be very desirable that whatever step is taken against an Arab party be balanced by the long overdue outlawing of Kahane's racist Kach. The danger of that group has again been demonstrated by their provocative behaviour in the Arab town of Shifaram.

Seeking to undermine the power of the radicals in the Arab community can only succeed if the power of the proven moderates is enhanced. The goal of winning over a growing proportion of the bulk of the undecided middle of the Israeli Arab community to the side of those who have cast their lot with Israel can only be achieved if the Arabs' perception of their total political powerlessness is turned around. This can only be done safely if the major parties open themselves up to real participation and power-sharing by Arab politicians.

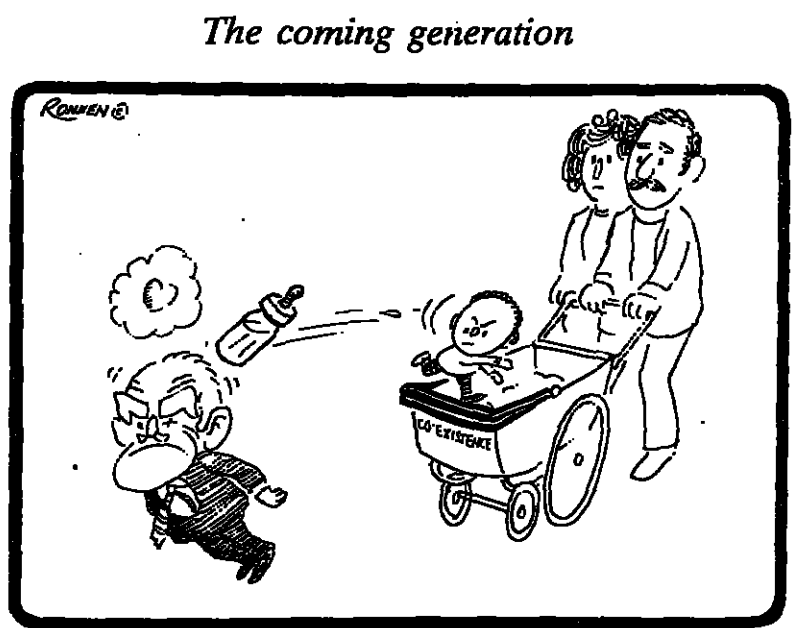
The Likud has always been pretty hopeless on that score, although Moshe Arens claims that his party is ready for a change in that regard. The Labour Party has for years talked a good game in that regard, but has actually done very little to share real power with its Arab activists and to include them in the internal life of the party. Such power-sharing is a goal whose time has come. If Rakah and the PLP, and the irredentist tendencies which they represent, are to be effectively weakened, Arab political leaders from among the impressive newer generation must be encouraged.

For the new, more sophisticated generation of undecided Israeli Arabs, encouragement of moderation cannot express itself in merely fobbing off their elected leaders by ceremonial positions. It must include real power-sharing, beginning with the appointment of Arab deputy ministers and top civil servants with real power in areas of legitimate concern to the Arab population.

The Labour Party lost an opportunity for such progress when it failed to appoint an Arab as deputy minister of education over a year ago. It is essential that it, and the Likud, overcome internal opposition to making such a breakthrough in real power-sharing with Arab moderates.

Shocks often serve as useful warnings in the lives of individuals. The shock that Israeli Arabs administered to Jewish Israel and to themselves this week, if understood and exploited correctly, could have a similarly beneficial effect on the future of relations between a Jewish Israel and its Arab minorities.

The writer is a member of The Jerusalem Post editorial staff.



The coming generation

Israeli consensus must be very insistent on the fact that the PLO continues to be Israel's implacable enemy. In a state of on-going war with that enemy, association with the PLO — and declared support for it — should be considered treason.

The mainstream of Jewish Israel, both in Labour and the Likud, agree with that basic proposition and with the view that the bulk of the Israeli Arab community should not automatically be labelled disloyal. The ability of the mainstreams of both major parties to reject the blandishments of their respective extremes, who insist on denying those positions, will be an essential test of the ability of the mainstreams' leaders to establish the political cohesion needed for the implementation of a coherent policy towards the Arab minority.

What will also be put to the test will be the ability of that political mainstream to fashion such a consensus on the Arab minority issue, within a political reality of unresolved differences over the issue of the eventual fate of the occupied territories. It will not be an easy feat to pull off in a super-heated election year. But the sense of urgency that should have been evoked by the

for Israel's Arabs, there have been debates among the Israeli public as to whether it should be perceived as a legitimate body, representing real Arab interests on the local scene, or whether it should be seen as a threatening breeding ground for the emergence of a concerted national Arab opposition within Israel in alliance with the country's external enemies.

I believe that the events of this past week have provided the answer to that question. As long as the national council continues to be dominated by the Rakah communists, with aid from the competing Progressive List for Peace — both of which have gone to extremes to express their identification with the PLO — the continued existence of the council should be seen as a threat, and everything should be done to deny it official recognition and to undermine its power in the Arab community.

ONE OF the correct elements in the official Israel attitude towards the Arab minority has been the determined and persistent opposition to anything that smacked of the emergence of that minority as an organized national entity. It is essential

A guide for the perplexed saver

Pinhas Landau

MOST PEOPLE who are supposed to know what's what believe there will be a devaluation in January 1988.

That, however, is not sufficient basis for concluding that a devaluation will indeed occur. In October this year, majority opinion — albeit a smaller majority — felt a devaluation to be imminent. But anyone who bought dollars then not only lost out on high shekel interest rates, but actually has fewer (repeat, fewer) shekels now than he had then, because the dollar proceeded to fall against the shekel.

True, the October purchaser of yen, marks, sterling and other non-dollar currencies has made good profits. But this reflects the fact that the dollar has been falling on world markets, something that has been happening since February 1985.

Therefore, when considering what to do about a possible devaluation of the shekel, two sets of circumstances must be considered — domestic and international.

DOMESTIC: The theoretical arguments in favour of a devaluation are twofold. First, since the rate of inflation in Israel, running at 15 to 20 per cent per annum, is much higher than that of our major trading partners, who make do with 1 to 5 per cent inflation a year, a devaluation is necessary to bring comparative prices into line.

Second, and more specifically, exporters who receive their payment in dollars are being squeezed. Their costs are rising in shekel terms, while their receipts are at best standing still, and in practice are falling. This is really an application of the comparative inflation argument.

The arguments against devaluing are no less persuasive. Devaluation will boost prices and wages, and therefore be wasted in anything but the short-term. The weakness of the dollar worldwide is beyond our control, so exporters must adjust to international realities, rather than expect the government to make devaluations to save them.

Wages have gone up far more than is justified, often in the expectation that a devaluation will erode the cost to employers. Therefore, the government should teach these employers a lesson by not accommodating their expectations.

Furthermore, given that the government's whole economic policy is now centred on "stability," it will certainly seek to avoid anything that might rock the stable boat — such as a devaluation. And finally, although this is never admitted in public, the longer the dollar stays low in shekel terms, the more the government saves on its dollar-linked debt, both to foreigners and at home, for example to holders of bank shares covered by the "arrangement."

INTERNATIONAL: If the wretched American currency would only hold steady abroad, instead of slumping steadily lower, our government would be able to hold the shekel steady for much longer — perhaps even through 1988. But that is obviously a forlorn hope.

Sooner or later, the dollar will stop falling. But as to when that might occur, and how far it will sink before that happens, no one has any idea. In addition to "economic fundamentals," which are also influenced by which school of economic theory one follows, there are other factors, such as "market psychology" and "election-year politics," that make accurate assessments impossible.

The interim conclusion reached by most local commentators, on the basis of all the foregoing, is that a devaluation of between 5 and 10 per cent is very probable, with the early part of 1988 seen as the most likely time for it to be carried out.

But, and this is an important qualification, the implementation of any such move is conditional on the Histadrut's prior agreement to cut out at least part of the knock-on effect of the devaluation on wages, by reducing the cost-of-living increment. This was the background to the devaluation of January 1987 which, if not quite the success it was claimed to be, was nonetheless far from the disaster many people feared at the time.

The chances of any such accord later in 1988, when the Knesset elections are breathing down everyone's neck, are negligible. If agreement is to be reached it should best be done soon.

These are the main elements in the debate. Now comes the interesting part: What, if anything, should the individual do?

DO NOTHING: One approach is to simply ignore the whole business. This has much to recommend it, apart from its simplicity and lack of headaches. It rests on solid elements of cost-benefit analysis. For a start, it says, anyone looking at the longer term will see that even a 10 per cent devaluation is less than the rate of inflation, and certainly less than interest rates on unlinked shekel deposits in the banking system.

In other words, over a year, the advantage of buying foreign currency and thereby protecting oneself against a devaluation is equalled, if not surpassed, by the alternative yield on linked, or unlinked, shekel investments.

Then there are the uncertainties: Who says the devaluation will be 10 per cent? Maybe it will only be 5 or 6 per cent, to take the dollar/shekel rate back to the 1.64 level established in January 1987. That, of course, would



increase the relative attractiveness of shekel investments vis-a-vis the dollar.

Who says it will be in January? Maybe I won't come till April. The longer it is delayed, the worse off are holders of dollars or dollar-linked assets.

Even if it happens, maybe the dollar will drift down again, as happened in 1987, and most of the gain will be lost. Note, though, that this argument can be stood on its head: Suppose there is no formal devaluation, but the dollar recovers abroad. The effect in terms of shekel dollar investments would be the same as if it had been devalued. In other words, one must juggle devaluation and revaluation as two equally possible contingencies.

Once that is granted, the idea of avoiding the dollar shekel issue by investing in a different currency can be seen in perspective. It is just as risky; the wonderful results of the last three years are no guarantee that the same will happen in 1988 — perhaps the country.

Finally, doing something costs money. Buying foreign currency, whether through a patam or patam account, and then reselling it later, costs almost 2 per cent — including commissions, the spread between buying and selling rates, and the 1 per cent tax on the purchase that is all that remains of the Peace for Galilee levy begun in 1982. Two per cent of a total devaluation of 6 per cent, or even 10 per cent, is a big chunk. Buying dollar-linked securities also entails a commission, plus the risk of office movements.

DO SOMETHING: The alternative is to form an opinion on all the local and international variables and to act on it. Or to pay someone else to form an opinion for you. Or to just take a chance and hope for the best. Or to split one's funds several different ways, on a portfolio basis, and thus reduce the risks and rewards of going entirely in one direction.

Within the context of doing something, there are numerous methods of protection against devaluations. The most direct is to buy foreign currency directly into a bank account, for those, such as olim, who may.

In the past, many people have illegally bought currency on the black market, although the high premiums involved can make this counter-productive if the devaluation is a small one. Israelis may buy foreign/currency-linked shekels into a patam account, but the deposit must be held for a whole year.

The bond market offers a large range of dollar-linked bonds, notably the bank shares of the "arrangement," and rather fewer corporate issues linked to European currencies. The development of a currency forward market in the banks allows almost anyone to buy protection against a possible devaluation, but here again, attention must be paid to the premium paid as part of the price.

The habits ingrained through long years of high inflation and large devaluations are dying hard, and many local investors can't resist the urge to "protect" themselves, by jumping in and out of foreign currency denominated, or -linked, assets before and after a supposedly impending devaluation.

In the professional parlance, they say "timing is everything." In plain language that means a gotta be lucky.

The writer is The Post's Finance Reporter.



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THE ASSOCIATION'S OBJECTIVES INCLUDE:

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- * Operating early detection programmes.
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- * Providing rehabilitation and welfare services for cancer patients and their families.
- * Ensuring the availability of professional guidance for medical and paramedical staffs dealing with cancer patients.
- * Organizing an information campaign for the public on the importance of prevention and early detection, while stressing the chances for recovery.

Despite the great improvement in recent years in the diagnosis, treatment and cure rate of cancer, the war on this disease must still be considered a front line, national challenge. Cancer remains a problem that touches everyone, in one way or another.

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The Association is not funded by the government; contributions from the public form its sole income.

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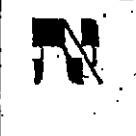
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The Tora portion this week is Vayigash (Genesis 44:18-47:27).

AT FIRST, when Jacob was told "Joseph is still alive and that he is the ruler over all the land of Egypt," he was stunned. He fainted and "believed them not." He recovered only after he heard "all the words Joseph had said to them" and had seen "the wagons which Joseph had sent to carry him." Then he exclaimed: "Enough! I will go and see him before I die!" (Genesis 45:26-29).

Jacob's decision to go down to Egypt was not spontaneous. It was taken following pensive deliberations over the "words" of Joseph and the "wagons" which he had sent. Jacob first had to overcome a number of arguments against this trip. Here are some:

a) It was no small thing for him to leave the land promised by the Almighty to him and his descendants after he had finally settled down there following so many trials and tribulations.

b) It was no small thing to take a trip at his advanced age of 130, not being in the best of health (remember the injury he contracted during the fight with the angel).

c) He must have been pained at Joseph, even at this moment of great joy, for leaving him in the dark all these years, not finding a way of letting his old father know that he was alive and well.

d) Even now, as busy as he was in his high office as ruler of Egypt, could he not take a few days off to come and see his father, perhaps also visit the grave of his mother?

e) In "the words" of Joseph which Jacob now pondered over, he asked his brothers to "tell my father of all my glory in Egypt... and... hasten to bring my father down here" (45:23). Why all this rush? Jacob had good reason to wonder whether Joseph was not being caught up again in his own delusions of grandeur and personal conceit which got him into so much trouble in the past? Why did Joseph stress the "glory" that he now had in Egypt?

Was he trying to impress his father who loved him so much for what he was, the darling child of his beloved wife, and not because of his "glories"? Jacob was worried.

f) If indeed Joseph had good reasons to wish to have his father come and stay with him in Egypt (to be a good influence on his children, to benefit from his advice and teaching, to impress Pharaoh with his distinguished pedigree or any other such reasons), why did he not come to extend the invitation in person?

Jacob apparently decided to make the trip in spite of all those not unreasonable arguments against it. This is how we understand his exclamation of "Enough!..." no more arguments for or against. He had realized that the decision to go or not to go was not in his hands only. Listening carefully to the "words" of Joseph, seeing the royal wagons that were sent to carry him, he soon realized that the final decision of his going down to Egypt was not even Joseph's.

What started as Joseph's spontaneous wish to see his father, so that he could be near him (45:26-27), turns soon into the official policy of Pharaoh who wanted it undoubtedly for his own political purposes. He, unlike Joseph, did not suggest that Jacob should "come down to Egypt," but ordered that he be "taken" there together with the family's "households" (verse 18). This soon turned into a royal edict, with Pharaoh providing the means of transportation for the transfer of the entire family, including "wagons for their wives and small children" (19). Pharaoh's "command" included also the liquidation of their belongings in their own land (20).

While overjoyed with the news of Joseph being alive and well, Jacob could not have been happy with the delicate political situation which forced his going down (veridat) to Egypt. Like many other yordim who leave the land of Israel for good, Jacob too pretended or fooled himself, that all he was doing was to go for a short visit abroad just to see his child: "I will go and see him before I die," he said (verse 28). Deep down in his heart he was afraid, however, that this short trip might well turn out to be the beginning of a long sojourn in a foreign land for himself and his descendants, the beginning of galut, the bitter exile revealed to his grandfather Abraham in "great darkness" during the "covenant of the pieces" (Gen., 15:12).

The first ghetto

TORA TODAY/Pinchas H. Peli



"...and they came into Egypt, Jacob and all his seed with him." (Gen. 46:1)

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"SO ISRAEL set out with all that was his and he went to Beersheba, there he offered sacrifices to the God of his father Isaac" (ibid., 46:1). How different was this from

his earlier encounters with the God of Abraham and Isaac when he was about to leave the land (12:13) or when he returned to it (32:31). Jacob was now afraid to invoke the God that spoke to Abraham about a 400-year long exile of bondage and torture.

"And God called to Israel in the vision of the night, 'Jacob! Jacob!' Strange, the verse begins 'God called to Israel,' but how did he call him? 'Jacob! Jacob!' The message was in the calling. It said that at this point 'Israel' was gone and 'Jacob' was back. Gone and forgotten

was the wrestling with an angel which had given him the name 'Israel.' Gone too were the heavenly dreams which accompanied him on his previous departure from the land. Instead of the angelic dreams, there was now the nightmare of galut.

Even the Lord's reassurance, "Fear not to go down into Egypt for I will make you there into a great nation," even the explicit promise that "I myself will go down with you to Egypt and I myself will also bring you back" — did not succeed in changing Jacob's mood or ease his fear. Not a word is mentioned about the anticipated joy in meeting with the long-lost, beloved son which was the direct reason for making the trip. Jacob was reluctant to undertake the journey from Beersheba to Egypt that his sons literally had to "carry him," and put him into the wagon (46:1).

For Jacob this was not, however, the end of his career as father and leader. He was "carried" down to Egypt, but did not relinquish his position as the one who would chart the future for his children to make sure that even now, under entirely new conditions, his people would not die.

Life in exile, although it might drag on for many years or generations, must not be allowed to spell the end of Jewish great dreams and aspirations. Jacob knew that Joseph was there, ready to provide for all his needs, but he did not rely on Joseph's strength. He was aware that he was "carried" down to Egypt, but he did not let this diminish his position as the one who would chart the future for his children to make sure that even now, under entirely new conditions, his people would not die.

Jacob's presence in Egypt ahead of him to Egypt in order to conduct a preliminary study and find the best spot for the tribe. We know from verse 46:34 that the ghetto was not always imposed on the Jews by outside forces, but often it was the Jews themselves who lived in a

ghetto of their own in order to be able to preserve their own environment. This was true of the very first ghetto, Goshen. It was chosen by mutual agreement between Joseph and Pharaoh, who first suggested it, and by Judah who came to inspect it and prepare it for its new settlers.

A RABBINIC explanation of Judah's mission in his advanced trip to Goshen has it that it was to set up a yeshiva, or educational institution for the children of the family. V'er Yehuda shalach lehorot ("he had sent Judah ahead of him... to point the way"), they interpret lehorot from the same root as morah, to teach. If the children of Israel were to survive in the galut, they could not do it without proper educational facilities, which had to be set up even before their arrival there.

God asked Jacob not to fear and promised him that not only would he go down to Egypt with him, but also that he would himself bring him back from there. This is traditionally understood as meaning that the shekhina, God's presence, accompanied the children of Israel into exile and would, so to say, remain there until their return to their own land.

The concept of shekhinta b'galut, "the presence of God in exile" became a powerful instrument of Jewish survival in the Diaspora. It worked in two ways: on the one hand, it provided stamina and consolation for the nourishing and developing of Jewish life and culture in various lands. The achievements of Jewish creativity in the Diaspora were indeed enormous and often glorious; on the other hand, Jews always felt the pain of the alienation of the shekhinta forced to stay in galut. When Jewish creativity in the galut loses that sense of pain and the yearning that comes with it for the imminent "return" to its real home in Israel and when it sees a "promised land" in any diaspora country, it soon withers and dies as true Jewish creativity. The first house

of learning set up by Judah at the instruction of Jacob was inspired by the dual divine promise of "I myself will go down with you" and "I myself will come back with you." A veridat for the sake of aliya.

This creative tension is reflected in the melancholic hasidic songs composed by the saintly Reb Eizicil of Kaliv in Hungary (1751-1821). In his youth Reb Eizicil served as a shepherd and thus learned songs and melodies from his fellow gentle shepherds. Later he rewrote them as songs of prayer and yearning for the return of the alienated shekhina and the end of galut. One of the most famous of the songs which Reb Eizicil brought to the hasidim is the following shepherd's love song:

Forest, O forest, how big are you!
Rose, O rose, how far are you!
If only the forest was not so vast.
The rose would be nearer to me.
If someone would take me out of the woods.
Together, O rose, we would be.

Using the melody of this song, Reb Eizicil in true hasidic manner "elevated its holy sparks" and gave it new life:

Galut, O Galut, how long are you!
Shekhina, O Shekhina, how far are you!
If only the galut was not so vast.
Then the shekhina would be nearer to us.
If someone would take us out of here soon.
Together, O shekhina, we would be again.

When the famous hasidic master Reb Naphtali of Ropshitz, a contemporary of the Kaliver, heard the song, he averred: "Whenever the Rebbe of Kaliv sings it, all the worlds above resound, the sources of Mercy are roused and choirs of angels join in the singing."

Rabbi Peli is the Bleaner Professor of Jewish thought and literature, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev.

Faith and tongue are no barriers

Beverlee Black

ONE OF THE nice things about working with The Jerusalem Post Toy Fund is visiting and distributing toys and clothing to the children at the Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul in Ein Karem.

There are currently 86 brain-damaged children — 80 of them Jewish — in the convent, from a few months to 10 years of age. They are at the Ein Karem facility because there is no other institution that can give the children proper care; some of them are less incapacitated than others and can attend school. The rooms are spotless, full of toys and gaily decorated with mobiles.

The children are cared for by Sister Bernes as well as other nuns and some 25 volunteers from all over the world. The fact that the volunteers do not speak a common language is apparently no barrier, judging by how well they work and get along.

Following two articles in Student Post and Hey There!, The Jerusalem Post's youth magazines which are very widely read in local schools, we received some most welcome contributions from their pupils. They included eighth-graders at the Miriam High School in Holon, and seventh- and eighth-graders at the Rubin Academy of Music in Jerusalem. Teacher Eleanor Sattov wrote to us that the latter gave a special concert for the Toy Fund and that, "The pupils were so involved and co-operative that they hope to plan more concerts soon." It's great to know that such young people can have this kind of initiative.

We are constantly reminded by phone calls and letters from social workers that there are still many elderly throughout the country who desperately need help in one way or another.

The Forsake Me Not Fund covers only a minute part of these needs, but with your help, we can help ease the burden. Give them a helping hand. Send your cheques today (a separate one for each fund) to: The Jerusalem Post Funds, P.O.B. 81, 91000 Jerusalem.

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man Rudy, Ramat Hasharon.
NIS 125 Anonymous, Ramat Gan.
NIS 100 in memory of our dear friend Anita Johnny and Jenny Nelson, Jerusalem. With thanks to Action for Helen and Moshe Fuchs. In memory of my husband, Dr. J. Kurt Sella — his wife, E.E. Haifa, Heinrich and Gabriela Pollack, Jerusalem. Christian friends of Israel in Wetzlar, W. Germany. Dr. and Mrs. Haim Schermer, Jerusalem.
NIS 88 Charity box (Kestel), Tel Aviv.
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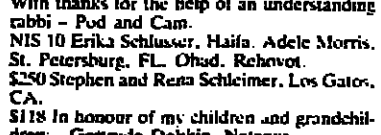


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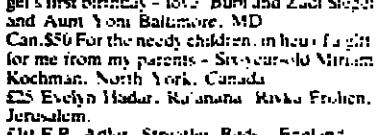


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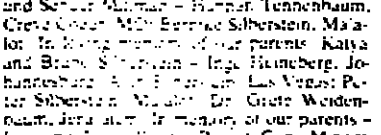


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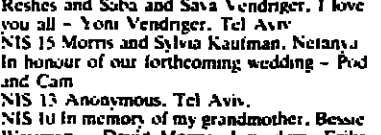


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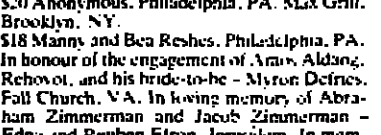


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HOMES URGED FOR CAMP RESIDENTS

(Continued from page 6)

...ing Israeli responsibility for, if not guilt in, the massacre.

And here, in the territories? "The same thing," he says, meaning a morally indefensible situation. "We are fighting 16-year-olds instead of getting our hands on the leaders, the university lecturers." I ask him about his attitude to the present riots. He repeatedly evades direct and clear answers. "Everybody explains them in accordance with his political views." Have they prompted him to reassess his views? "A man should continually re-examine his views, positions. But if he changes them with every passing event, then he is unstable. We think all the time."

HAS HE NO moral problem with the occupation? "I think it is far more moral for us to rule over Shechem (Nabulus) and to be able, if need be, to get at the person responsible for attacks on us, to pinpoint him, than to be outside the territories and have to send down on Shechem a pair of bombers and bomb them."

In general, Ben-Nun says, the Is-

raeli public has in recent years become more sensitive to issues of humanity and morality and "purity of arms."

"Gush Emunim is 'vegetarian' by comparison with Unit 101." (This was the IDF commando responsible in 1953-54 for many of the retaliatory strikes and for the massacre at Kibye). "In the years we have sat in Shechem, we have become more sensitive in these matters. If you send out a pair of bombers, you wash your hands of the moral problem."

But the moral problems of the occupation concern Ben-Nun little in comparison with the problem of how the people of Israel stand up in this struggle.

"What worries me is the split in the nation, the irresolution; this gives me sleepless nights. I think about the camp guard who ran away during the hang-glider attack. This can happen to people. But I ask whether it might not be representative."

Ben-Nun goes on to tell me that he thinks continually about the Weimar Republic. He says the polarization between left and right ("more correctly, nationalists and liberals")

and between religious and secular is far more important than the Sephardi-Ashkenazi divide.

"These polarizations endanger the Zionist enterprise. They are approaching a critical mass, which will produce an explosion. I am working for national reconciliation."

This seems to take up more of his extra-curricular hours than meetings of the Gush Emunim Secretariat. "No, it is not a lost battle."

BIN-NUN SAYS he refuses to delude himself on such matters as Israel's non-recognition of the Palestinian problem. "The Palestinians have been struggling against us not since 1967. It didn't begin in 1967 but in 1920."

If they are the enemy, why not talk to them?

"I refuse to submit to them or enter into a dialogue with the PLO. I refuse to accept the Palestinians' definition of themselves in their National Covenant as both part of the Arab nation and at the same time a separate people with a right to their own state. I am angry at liberals who take the Palestinian Covenant lightly."

He sums up his argument on this issue with: "The Covenant is a racist document."

defence minister, the situation on the roads was very bad. The IDF wasn't there. There was a feeling that the government didn't care what was happening on the roads. The IDF had pulled out of various hot-spots.

"Now, it is clear that the government cares, that the IDF is imposing law and order, that it is not abandoning areas to mob rule. And it is clear that the problem encompasses the whole country [an apparent reference to the rioting by Israel's Arab minority]. If we give up control in the areas, there will be Lebanonization."

HE LEAVES me with something like a credo, which is not quite apocalyptic.

"We must realize that we are in the Middle East. This is not Scandinavia. The most the Arabs can give us is non-belligerency. Peace is unattainable now. There are terrific tensions and rivalries in the Arab world. And there is no reason that we should expect to be treated by an Arab neighbour better than it treats its Arab neighbour."

"We will have to live by the sword until the area changes, which is a matter of many years, generations. Meanwhile, we must strive for stability, not peace. Withdrawing from the West Bank will cause destabilization and Lebanonization, plunging the area back into the 1960s. On the other hand, stability for 50 years could pave the way to peace."

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| SHABBAT | BEGINS | ENDS |
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| Jerusalem | 4:25 p.m. | 5:22 p.m. |
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| Beer Sheva | 4:21 p.m. | 5:20 p.m. |
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Tora portion: Vayakhel-Pekudei

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WHAT'S ON IN HAIFA

collection/Visiting Hours: (Museum and Pavilion): Sun.-Thur. 10 a.m.-8 p.m.; Fri. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.; Sat. 10 a.m.-2 p.m.; 7-10 p.m.

ART GUIDE

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Museums and Exhibitions

ISRAEL MUSEUM, Opening Exhibition: Asaph Ben-Zahav, large woodcuts, 1984-87, 20.12 at 8 a.m., Continuing Exhibitions: Chinese Shu-Hsiu, jade, coral etc.; Shigehiko Collection, Masterpieces in Jewish Art; "Father Series," Nuri David, 4 Jusen Lada, new work expressly for Israel Museum; "Carved Dream," Jerusalem 1987; Emphasis: Arish Arach, Michael Gross, Yigal Tumarkin; Tradition and Revolution: The Jewish Renaissance in Russian Avant-Garde Art; "Economic Shrine" discovered from Olm, Negav; News in Antiquities '87; Wondrous Icons; Permanent Archaeology, Heritage and Ethno Art Exhibitions; Shrine of the Book (Dead Sea Scrolls).

10-1. Holidays: check with Museum, 2 Hapalmach St., Tel. 02-6612912. Bus No. 15.

SIR ISAAC AND LADY EDITH WOLFSON MUSEUM at Helichal Shalom: Special Exhibition: Special Hanukkah Exhibition. Permanent exhibition of Judaica. Diorama Room: History of Jewish People.

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DUTY HOSPITALS

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Saturday, December 26

Jerusalem: (day: Mt. Olives, 287480; (evening) Kupat Holim Clalit, Romema, 523191; (day and evening) Balsam, Salah Eddin, 272315; Shu'afat, Shu'afat Road, 810108; Dar Aldawa, Herod's Gate, 282058. Tel Aviv: (day: Habima, 17 Dizengoff, 226425; Masaryk Hayim, Zahalon branch, 98 Sderot Yehoshua, Jaffa, 814938; (evening) Beni, 174 Dizengoff, 223886; Nezhah Yisrael, 11 Nezhah Yisrael (between Sderot Chen and Kikar Masaryk), 226549. Ra'anana-Kfar Sava: (day) Magdiel, 54 Derech Magdiel, Rod Hasharon; (evening) Dikster, 47 Shehel Hayamin, Kfar Sava. Netanya: Maxim, 2 Salomon, 617826. Krayot area: Sabina, 24 Hagafen, Kiyat Biak, 712674. Haifa: Hanita, 22 Hanita, 231905.

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INSIDE THE prefabricated huts of Jerusalem's Foreign Ministry headquarters last week, officials were formulating defences of Israel's policy regarding the West Bank and Gaza. Outside the huts — a dozen metres from the office of Minister Shimon Peres — labourers from the West Bank were unloading building materials from a green lorry with Bethlehem licence plates and proceeding to construct modern offices for Israel's civil servants. It was another instance of the ironic symbiosis between Israel and the territories, occupier and occupied, employer and employee.

Jewish construction workers simply vanished after the Six Day War. At first, Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza Strip worked on projects even more sensitive than construction of the Foreign Ministry: they worked on army bases and bunkers. Employing this cheap labour later turned out to be tactically unwise, when security information was leaked to hostile elements.

In the Gaza Strip there are about 23,500 construction workers, 82 per cent of whom work in Israel. In the West Bank, the figure is 41,000, with 63 per cent working in Israel. Employment within the Green Line has suited them for two reasons: first, access to the Arab heartland became more difficult, and second, Israel offered them higher wages than they could get in the Arab world. Furthermore, they could save a large portion of their wages if they worked in Israel and went home to sleep. Even after Sinai was returned to Egyptian administration, some workers from north Sinai continued to seek jobs in Israel, crossing into the Gaza Strip illegally.

For Israel, the sudden influx of relatively cheap labour in 1967 brought a halt to improvements in the building trade. In a country where capital is always expensive and the economy volatile, it was cheaper to hire West Bankers than to invest in expensive equipment. Employers can dismiss a temporary worker but not sack an expensive machine.

The philosophy of Moshe Dayan, then Defence Minister, was that working people and full bellies would prevent unrest in the territories. But there was more to it than that. It was considered desirable for these Arabs to be dependent on Israel rather than developing their own industry.

With the Israeli taxpayers' money, governments continued to encourage over-protected Jewish industry, to create new jobs for residents of the territories.

AMOS RUBIN, Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's economic adviser, points out the disadvantages of such a policy: by imposing high levies and duties with one hand, and offering investment grants with the other, governments have denied Israelis the benefits of cheap textiles and other goods from international markets. While providing jobs for Arabs from the terri-

Uncomfortable symbiosis

ries, they offered perks to relatively few Jewish entrepreneurs.

Rubin contends that Israel should also have allowed Arab entrepreneurs to build their own factories in the West Bank. There would have been less need to employ Arabs from the territories in Israeli factories; that would have saved government funds and allowed us all to enjoy the most inexpensive goods, either from the West Bank and Gaza or from abroad. Such a policy might also, of course, have done more for Arab pride.

Shlomo Maoz

But it was Israel's intention to control every aspect of the Palestinians' lives, allowing them no expression even through enterprise. And the Israel government has not been the Palestinians' only ruler. For every undertaking, even related to economics or health, to say nothing of politics, they require either Jordanian or PLO approval. Jordan, like Israel, has blocked the development of their industry. And the PLO provided only its supporters with assistance in improving health and education.

LIFE, THOUGH, is stronger than rules. In the last few years, many small subcontracting businesses have developed in the administered areas. They usually work for Israeli textile and footwear firms, and have become increasingly important to Israelis looking to make a fast buck while enjoying protection from imported goods. This solution also allows the Palestinians to employ their female work force, since tradition forbids their crossing the border without the supervision of family or *rais*.

Most of the small textile plants are family affairs employing five to 10 workers. In the West Bank, between 1981 and 1986, the number of small factories rose from 1,917 to 2,322 — an increase of 21 per cent. At the same time, the average monthly wage in West Bank textile plants has doubled, from \$106 in 1981 to \$220 in 1986 — though this is still only about half what they can earn in Israel. The average monthly wage in all other industries rose during those five years from \$107 to \$146.

Some 261,000 Arabs, out of a population of 1,342,000, living in the administered areas at the end of 1986, were working. This represents average employment of about 36 per cent of the labour force. Of those employed, about 36 per cent were working in Israel, mainly in agriculture, industry, construction and services such as hotels and restaurants. They want to work in Israel — and they have few alternatives. Even the Gulf countries, with the war

there and the plunge in oil prices, provide no haven.

For some Israelis, the employment of Palestinians in lower-level jobs provides an opportunity for profit and a rise to managerial levels for themselves. Could either side, at this point, do without the other?

IN THE SHORT run both sides would be sensitive to any change; the Arab workers are concerned about unemployment, and Israel needs some of them for such unskilled jobs as sanitation work. If the work force from the territories were to dry up, Israelis would eventually manage on their own in the fields of industry, agriculture, construction and hotels after a period of adjustment — either by increasing automation or through cheaper imported goods. Or they could import foreign workers from other Mediterranean countries.

At present, the exchange of goods and services between Israel and the administered areas — mainly in the form of labour power — totals \$1.714m. a year, which leaves Israel with a surplus of \$160m. Israel's total exchange of goods and services is \$27.400 billion a year.

If there is a political compromise over the territories, continuing collaboration will be only natural. If not, the current state of uncomfortable symbiosis is likely to continue.



THE SUN is already halfway down over the hills in the distance, over Gaza, but in the fields of Moshav Tidar in the northern Negev, David Cohen and his entire family are still at work, trying frantically to save a portion of this year's flower crop.

Whether from conviction or fear of reprisal, the workers who generally tend these fields stayed home again today, the 10th day in succession.

In Kiryat Gat, meanwhile, production lines at the city's largest factory complex have been shut down for lack of workers. Most days, the overwhelming majority of Polgar's production labour is Palestinian. Today, however, whether due to ideology or duress, the bulk of the work force is at home, on strike somewhere over the Green Line. At Polgar, the handful of workers left to get out the rush orders are Portuguese.

Throughout the Negev, in garages, family farms, restaurants, municipalities, construction sites and factories, the fortnight of continuous unrest in Gaza has struck home with a telling economic effect. "Some of us have built our whole livelihood around Arabs from Gaza," remarks western Negev moshavnik Meir Ben-Shitrit. "I remember the hotbeds in Gaza used to yell that the State of Israel was keeping them prisoner, like hostages. But now they are beginning to see who the real hostage is — the Israeli who depends on them to make a living."

While a number of major Negev firms have refrained from hiring residents of the

Brazilians for Palestinians

territories, either because of security considerations (e.g., the Dimona nuclear facility), or as a result of such community concerns as high local unemployment (Yeroham's Phoenicia bottle plant, Makhateshim chemicals in Beersheba), factories in at least three development towns were forced to shut down for over a week.

IN SEVERAL development towns, garbage piled up on side streets and sewage problems went unattended.

Farmers reported heavy losses on fruit

Bradley Burston

and vegetable crops.

For the few Gazans who did report to work, the events in the territories also had a markedly negative impact on Jewish-Arab working relations in some cases. In a Beersheba restaurant, a waiter from Gaza City was sacked after a work-related dispute between the waiter and a Jewish co-worker escalated into an shouting match of ethnic epithets.

One Negev moshavnik, who employs both Negev-area Jews and Gaza Arabs in his packing operation, decided to pull out the plug of the small plant's radio rather than have the hourly news reports of deaths of Gaza rioters lead to fights among his workers.

Recent events may also be having an effect on the willingness of Jewish property owners to rent to Israeli Arabs. In Beersheba, a city which has become something of a magnet for Arab students and professionals from northern Israel, a number of complaints have been registered in the last week concerning the refusal of landlords to rent apartments "to any Arab."

Says an executive at one of the Negev's largest temporary employment agencies, "At the back of many employer's minds now is the nightmare of 'What happens if one day my workers from Gaza go out on strike and they never come back.'"

In many quarters, the answer has been a policy of gradual disengagement from dependence on labour from the territories. Despite soaring unemployment that has passed the 9 per cent mark in some Negev towns, however, most employers insist that Jews by and large prefer welfare to shift work for minimal salaries, and so the labour search has had to turn elsewhere.

Increasingly, the search has led abroad. One of the Negev's newest growth industries is "human brokerage," the importation of workers from Portugal, Brazil and other foreign countries, primarily for work in industrial plants. At the Kiryat Gat Polgar factory, for example, executives have

been seeking to increase the percentage of foreign labour for some time. Given the current situation in Gaza and the West Bank, a senior official there remarks, "We have to seriously rethink whether we can continue to count on Arab labour from the territories."

Polgar has just received authorization from the Labour Ministry to hire 60 foreign workers in addition to the 30 already employed there. The number of Palestinians working at the plant is approximately 500.

FOR SMALLER firms and the municipalities, the preponderance of local labour contractors, many of them offering Negev Beduin workers as an alternative to Gazans and residents of the Hebron area, has become increasingly tempting.

Work days lost to unrest are not the only consideration in disengagement from the territories, employers contend. According to work managers, the current rise in Islamic fundamentalism throughout Gaza has lent additional momentum to the search for alternatives.

Says Sa'adia Gozlan, deputy-mayor of the western Negev development town of Ofakim, "More workers now choose to observe the Moslem Sabbath and holidays. At one point, the scarcity of Gaza sanitation workers on Fridays was such that waste from Thursday's open market remained uncollected until Sunday morning. Moving the market day from Thursday to Wednesday proved only a partial solution, however. Four months ago, the town council hired out the work to a private contractor."

"If the current rioting and strikes had taken place a year ago, we'd be in terrible shape from the standpoints of sanitation and maintenance," Gozlan says. "Now that we hired the contractor, all this, including the tendency of Gaza workers to work, let us say, beneath their capacity, is someone else's headache."

Is the hiring of unemployed Jews for occupations commonly called "black work" a realistic option? Some municipal officials would like to think so.

In the town of Sderot, for example, a measure is currently being considered whereby the municipality's vacant technical and maintenance posts will be offered to Jews from the area, according to town manager Zion Ohana.

How does Ohana, who favours the measure, rate the chances that local Jews will come forward to take the posts?

"My honest opinion? Very, very doubtful."

Manufacturers disregard 'problematic' figures

SOMETIMES, numbers can be very helpful. They limit vested interest groups' ability to present a distorted view of reality. They light up areas these groups would prefer to keep conveniently obscure. Something of that sort has happened to the Manufacturers' Association.

For months, the industrialists have insisted that production and exports are facing many government-made problems. Association President Dov Lautman has been

engaging in a campaign for a devaluation of the shekel. A memorandum produced by the industrialists some three weeks ago spoke about industry being at a dead-end. Industrial exports were dwindling, the balance of payments' deficit was rising and economic growth prospects were almost nil.

Unfortunately for the industrialists, the figures on exports were a bit "disappointing." In their memorandum, they wrote that the volume of

Avi Temkin

industrial exports would go up in 1987 by 5.5 per cent, compared to 6.3 per cent in 1986, and a 8.8 average for the 1979 to 1985 period. By the time they were composing their memo, the industrialists already knew that the volume of industrial exports would rise by more than 5.5 per cent during 1987.

But this was not helpful in their campaign. Better to disregard that problematic figure.

Thing got even worse earlier this week. The Central Bureau of Statistics announced that the volume of industrial exports excluding diamonds had increased by 14 per cent in the third quarter of this year. It would have been expected that the industrialists and the Industry Ministry would have pleased with this figure, and give it great publicity. Instead, they still pretend everything is bleak.

THE INDUSTRIALISTS' basic assertion is that the rate of exchange is "fixed" and that this has eroded profitability. To see how "fixed" the rate of exchange has been, one should take a quick look at the figures. Since the end of 1986, the shekel has been devalued 24 per cent against the Deutschmark and 30 per cent against the pound sterling.

The problem, of course, is that the shekel has been going steadily up against the dollar. Since the last devaluation in January, the dollar has fallen 5 per cent against the shekel.

The numbers tell us that exports in general have been doing well. Exports to the U.S. and to the dollar bloc, though, are in trouble. But this is a sectoral problem. It therefore needs a sectoral solution.

A straightforward type of solution would have been to lower wages in industries exporting to the dollar bloc. This is what the industrialists do not want, because this would lead to labour unrest. It would be better to have the government devalue the shekel and trigger inflation.

From the beginning of the year, exporters to the dollar bloc knew what was looming ahead. The fact is that they did not take measures to protect themselves. Now they want the economy to foot the bill.

Old hand at the new game

"HAVE WE BOUGHT Hutton yet?"

Harvey Krueger, a managing director of Shearson Lehman American Express, tossed the question at his aide in the most matter-of-fact way, as if asking whether it was still raining.

Despite the headlines in the American press that morning, announcing the imminent acquisition of EF Hutton, Wall Street's fourth largest brokerage firm, by Shearson Lehman, the second largest, the actual deal wasn't completed for another week or more. After all, it cost \$962 million, so it was worth getting the details right.

With Hutton swallowed, Shearson has moved to the number one spot, at least in terms of retail brokerage facilities.

This is of more than academic interest to Israelis, because Shearson does more business with Israeli companies than any other Wall Street firm, and because its retail and wholesale clout are going to be very important, if and when it brings major government-owned firms to market in New York.

This year, Shearson underwrote and co-managed two important share issues for Israeli companies. One, Teva, was a major success, especially since some of the shares were placed with institutional investors who had not previously held Israeli shares. The other, Elbit, had a less happy outcome when its profits did not match expectations.

But, as Krueger is quick to point out, the flotation of government-owned companies is quite different from these private ones. He is equally quick to point out that he personally has 25 years' experience of doing business with Israel, for he was involved in registering Bank Leumi in New York in 1962.

THROUGH ALL THIS, Harvey Krueger has remained the firm's "Mr. Israel." However, it should

Pinchas Landau

not be imagined that this is some private whim that the firm allows him to indulge. The past openness to Israeli corporations has been a general company policy which he has overseen, but which, like any other activity, has had to be justified on a business basis.

As Krueger himself put it bluntly, "In the post-October 19 world, no one in Wall Street is going to do anything that will lose money."

If, therefore, Shearson is pressing ahead with its involvement in the Israeli privatization programme, it is because it expects to make money out of it.

Only last week, Bezek formally announced that Shearson was its adviser for the process of readying itself for market. That is the first stage, which will lead in due course to management and underwriting of Bezek share and bond issues.

Nor is Bezek the only target. "All the major government-owned corporations are potential targets for us. We have no *a priori* preferences," Krueger maintained.

THERE IS NO question that Shearson as a company, and Krueger personally, are miffed that the government preferred First Boston for the overall advisory job. That has not turned them off, but it has made them more circumspect. They have learnt that their experience with, and long exposure to, Israel will not automatically put them ahead of the game.

But they believe that these factors will inevitably work to their advantage. They know the economy and the companies much better. They were involved in the abortive flotation of Israel Bromine a few years

ago, and they know how and why that went wrong.

That means that they do not need to be told how much preparatory work needs to be done on most of the intended privatization targets before they can be sold to the public — especially the American public.

Investors need to be left with a good taste in their mouths, "is the way Krueger phrases the desired result of a privatization. Thus, a company must provide a decent and stable rate of return, and its management must be perceived as solid and capable."

But with government-owned companies there is a still more fundamental issue. Since the biggest corporations cannot be sold in a lump, "the Israeli government has to be ready to keep control of the companies, but to respect the minority interest."

This is more than mere phraseology. The Bromine issue sank because of the government's inability to change the State Corporations Law to the extent that would satisfy the American stock exchange regulatory body, the SEC.

However, despite the problems — and no mention has been made of the state of the U.S. market itself — Shearson is plugging ahead. Whereas with First Boston and Paine Webber there is room for the suspicion that their lack of knowledge of local conditions allows them to delude themselves, this is plainly not the case with Shearson.

Here we have a firm that has its eyes wide open, knows the full score, and yet is deepening its involvement. For the Israeli economy, that is a welcome vote of confidence.

(This article is part of a series)

The economic pages are edited by Post Economic Editor Shlomo Maoz.

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The limits of friendship

OF ALL U.S. presidents in the past four decades none tried harder, from the very start of his stewardship in the White House, than Ronald Reagan to be counted a friend of Israel, its people and its government. A staunch backer of this country from way back, he viewed it as the sort of plucky, western-oriented democracy that made an ideal Middle Eastern ally for America in the global confrontation with the Soviets and their satellites.

Such occasional spats as his administration had with Jerusalem, he did his best to keep within the family, as it were. Over the years the bountiful favours he has showered on Israel have come to be considered a natural U.S. obligation, due for strategic benefits this country was doing to the Americans. Official U.S. dissent from Israeli policies and practices, even if amounting to little more than a mild slap on the wrist, came to be excoriated as little short of perfidy. Still, Mr. Reagan would bear no grudge for long.

On Moked this week Premier Yitzhak Shamir proudly recalled Mr. Reagan assuring him, while he was visiting Washington four years ago, that the U.S. and Israel would remain friends no matter what differences separated them.

The differences the president was alluding to, the premier explained, had to do with the future of Eretz Yisrael. Mr. Shamir's conclusion was, in effect, that so long as Israel's government made the appropriate noises about its dedication to peace, and its willingness to alter the political status quo, however minimally, it could safely continue to pursue the Likud goal of territorial expansion.

Granting Mr. Shamir's assumption, it is easy to decipher his undisguised nonchalance in the face of America's abstention from the vote this week on an otherwise unanimously supported UN Security Council resolution, that "strongly deplors the policies and practices of Israel, the occupying power, which violate the human rights of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories."

The Security Council's record includes far more vicious resolutions touching Israel, and it was only by the threat of a U.S. veto that the council was persuaded not to actually "condemn" this country for its manner of suppressing the riots in Gaza and the West Bank during the previous two weeks. But on earlier such occasions Washington would have blocked even the resolution that did pass, and on roughly the same grounds of unfairness and discrimination the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem cited in rejecting the text.

Apparently the administration, from Mr. Reagan down, felt that this last occasion was different. For one thing, Israel seemed to reveal a disregard for human life by using live bullets where less lethal means of riot-control could be applied, and the argument that some other countries had done worse in similar circumstances was unworthy of Israel. Even more importantly, the recent disorders underlined the danger of turmoil, and even war, inherent in a futile attachment to the occupation as an acceptable alternative to a peace of accommodation.

Does this mean that America's still loyal friendship for Israel has its limits, and does not necessarily require tacit endorsement of Mr. Shamir's favourite course of drift? Predictions are hazardous. Certainly there is no reason to suppose that the U.S. will seek to muscle Israel into a change of policy, even if Washington believes this to be in Israel's best ultimate interest. For, since 1967 the U.S. has steadfastly refused to adopt such a course. But to assume that Washington will continue to effectively underwrite Israeli policy, as Mr. Shamir apparently does, would also be short-sighted.

DETENTIONS

(Continued from Page One)
meet with Shai to discuss the case this morning.

An Egged bus travelling from Gush Etzion to Jerusalem was stoned at about 7:35 last night while passing the Deheisha refugee camp. Two rocks came smashing into the bus, one of the passengers said. They destroyed two windows, and narrowly missed the woman who was sitting in the third or fourth row.

Security forces in the territories are preparing for possible demonstrations today following the Friday prayers at mosques, and have asked teachers to avoid referring to the recent events in their sermons.

Heavy troop reinforcements remained in place throughout the West Bank. In accordance with revised orders, troops are intervening directly to nip all protests in the bud. Many soldiers could be seen yesterday along the Jerusalem-Bethlehem highway, and a helicopter flew low over the road.

An Israeli truck was stoned yesterday on the Omar el-Mukhtar thoroughfare in central Gaza. A passenger in the truck reportedly opened fire on passers-by and shopkeepers in the area with an Uzi submachine-gun, but no injuries were reported.

Meanwhile, more than 100 IDF reservists, including officers, have signed a petition circulated by the Yesh Gvul movement, in which they declare they will "refuse to take part in the suppression of the uprising and rebellion in the occupied territories...We are no longer willing to bear responsibility for this political and moral deterioration."

As life appeared to return to normal in many parts of the West Bank, Palestinians interviewed at random said they felt the two weeks of violent protest had made tangible gains for their cause, particularly in focusing international attention on their predicament.

"They are listening to us for the first time," said one man. "The UN Security Council has passed a resolution on the issue, and there has been broad international condemnation of Israel, including from the U.S."

Many said they felt a sense of pride and new-found confidence because they had seen that the Palestinians could mount an intense protest for an unprecedented length of time.

In Gaza, lawyer Halid Kidra said local attorneys were boycotting the trials in unrest-related cases because what he termed lack of substantive evidence against the defendants had led the military court to bring undue pressure on defendants to plead guilty. A defendant who pleads "is sentenced to a month in jail, while whoever denies the charges gets an appreciably longer sentence," Kidra declared.

Demonstrators tried this week have been sentenced to up to a year in jail.

IDF judicial officials yesterday rejected the claims of the striking defence attorneys.

An IDF source told The Jerusalem Post last night that in order to identify and collect evidence against demonstrators, military investigators have begun using video tapes of American networks television news film taken over the two weeks of rioting.

The IDF spokesman's office responded that "the security forces have at their disposal all means necessary to identify and try the persons in question and have no need of foreign agencies to fill this function."

Joshua Brilliant adds: The defence establishment yesterday clarified some - but not the all - of the discrepancy between the IDF spokesman's reports that 21 Palestinians were killed in the recent riots in the territories and the Progressive List for Peace's list of 29 dead.

According to PFLP spokesman Haim Hanegbi the list was compiled from the Arab press and reports by an Israeli journalist who had been in Gaza and collected data. Hanegbi declined to identify the journalist.

The defence establishment said one person on the list had died in a road accident on December 8, and two were hospitalized at Sheba Hospital at Tel Hashomer.

Hanegbi admitted that the accident victim's name had appeared by mistake.

The defence establishment's rebuttal did leave open questions. It said that the names of Zair Ishai and Taleb Ahmad Joi appeared in the PFLP's list twice. But in fact the list presented yesterday mentioned each name only once.

The authorities said three other names were unknown.

Despite the public rebuke by the White House

Americans averse to rift now with Israel

THE LATEST WAVE of violence on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip has again catapulted the Arab-Israeli conflict back to the front pages of major American newspapers and the prime-time television news programmes. For the first time in months, Israeli-based journalists are being seen, heard and read.

And their dramatic coverage of the disturbances, including the readiness of Israeli troops to use live ammunition in cracking down, has had a significant impact on top officials in the State Department and the White House. After days of deliberately trying to maintain a low-key posture, the Reagan administration finally responded on Tuesday with a tough public rebuke of Israel, and a refusal to veto a UN Security Council resolution condemning Israel.

During the war in Lebanon in 1982, a similar phenomenon occurred. Ronald Reagan and other top policy-makers in Washington were struck by the vivid footage on television. Israel was not portrayed as a David fighting Goliath; nor has that been the case now. In fact, the opposite image has been created. Palestinian youngsters have been seen throwing rocks against heavily-armed Israeli soldiers.

This latest U.S. blast against Israel - just like similar public rebukes in 1982 during the war in Lebanon - further fuelled the news media's interest in the developments. Indeed, it had the obvious impact of encouraging news editors in the U.S. to conclude that the unfolding story in Israel and the territories was even more important than they had earlier assumed. They recognized, of course, that a public spat between the Reagan administration and Israel was rather unusual - hence, it was "news."

BUT SEEN IN perspective, the U.S. response this week was not all that angry. And in any case, the administration was softening its own position within 24 hours, clearly anxious to avoid any really serious rift with Jerusalem. U.S. officials do not want to see the differences with Israel escalate into too troubling a problem.

Yes, the administration wants to see the violence ended as quickly as possible. It also wants Israel to use less lethal force in dealing with the situation. It would like to see some positive movement in the dormant Arab-Israeli peace process. And barring that, it at least wants to see the quality of life in the territories, especially Gaza, improved.

Those are all genuinely worthwhile recommendations. The problem is that the Reagan administration, during its final year in office, is hardly likely to take the necessary steps to achieve those goals. And without an intense American prodding, they are not going to be achieved.

There is today a very low energy level in Washington. The administration is aging rapidly as 1988 and the presidential campaign draw near. In the highest echelons of the administration, there is really no desire to come to terms with the Arab-Israeli conflict.

"It's the bind that any American administration would be in in an election year, because quite frankly, I don't think there's any stomach to push too hard on the peace process," commented Dr. Geoffrey Kemp, a former Middle East staffer on the National Security Council during the first term of the Reagan Administration. "I think most people believe that there cannot really be any forward motion until the Israelis themselves have had an election."

As far as the White House is concerned, moreover, there are other more pressing issues, including the budget and trade deficits, the next superpower summit in Moscow, the U.S. elections next November and the continuing fallout from the various domestic political scandals, ranging from the Iran-Contra affair and the likely indictment of several former White House officials to the continuing investigation into Attorney General Ed Meese's involvement in the so-called Wedtech mess.

With that kind of full-plate agenda, why get entangled in what is seen as a no-win situation in the Middle East? A peace initiative, at a necessarily high level, requires a vitality and drive that simply do not exist in Washington any longer. This administration is too tired for any such high-risk venture.

THE REAGAN administration, over the past seven years, has had its spats with Israel. In 1981, for example, there was the bitter fight over the Saudi Awaas sale. During that same first year of the administration, there were also sharp collisions following Israel's bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor in June and its annexation of the Golan Heights in December. There were even temporary halts in F-16 deliveries to Israel and suspensions of strategic cooperation agreements.

In 1982, there was a real crisis in the relationship following Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the subsequent siege of Beirut. Prime Minister Begin, of course, reacted very angrily to President Reagan's September 1, 1982, peace initiative, which wound up going nowhere.

More recently, there were some tense moments in the aftermath of the Jonathan Jay Pollard spy scandal.

But for the most part, President Reagan and Secretary of State Shultz have sought to avoid any tensions with Israel. Indeed, by almost any definition, they have shown themselves to be extraordinarily supportive of Israel. That is where their gut instincts have almost always directed them.

Even in the days leading up to this week's U.S. criticism of Israel, the administration (and Congress) authorized major new weapons deals with Israel, a dramatic restructuring of the existing Israeli debt to the U.S., and the promise of an even more productive bilateral economic, military and political relationship in the years ahead.

ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS never liked getting tough with Israel in the first place. Indeed, in recent years, they almost never did - and when they did it was relatively mild and brief. Top officials don't really have the heart to do it. For the most part, they are genuinely pro-Israel. And on the eve of presidential and congressional elections, they certainly don't have that desire.

This administration is not Carter's or Ford's or even Nixon's. The people in the White House and State Department today have no taste for diplomatic or political combat with and over Israel. Israeli leaders, no doubt, are upset by the U.S. criticism and the abstention at the Security Council. But they are too well-plugged into the decision-making process in Washington to take it all that seriously.

Indeed, Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin, appearing on Wednesday on ABC's "Nightline" television programme, acknowledged the differences with Washington, especially on the matter of using live ammunition against unarmed demonstrators. He noted, however, that even close friends can sometimes agree to disagree. He did not sound

overly worried about Washington's reaction. The fact is that, in advance of Israel's own elections scheduled for November 1988, the administration has virtually given up hoping to see the badly-divided Israeli government come to terms with an international peace conference that could serve as King Hussein's umbrella for direct negotiations with Israel. U.S. officials would be pleased to simply see some improvement in the quality of life in the territories.

Moreover, the Senate and the House of Representatives, which have now recessed for the Christmas and New Year's holidays, are about as pro-Israel as possible. By almost any definition, this most recent session has been as favourable for Israel as any in history - if not the most favourable.

Israel was spared any cuts in its \$3 billion economic and military aid package, despite the prevailing Gramm-Rudman mood on Capitol Hill. And Israel, in the final days of the session, managed to win a whole host of goodies, almost to the embarrassment of the Israeli Embassy and the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee (Aipac), the official pro-Israel lobby in Congress.

THUS, DON'T expect either Congress or the Administration to get too tough with Israel. For the most part, it will be the news media and, ironically, certain elements in the American Jewish community that have increasingly in recent years become prepared to dissent from the official Israeli line.

The cracks in the once-solid willingness of major Jewish leaders to align themselves with whatever positions were in favour in Jerusalem have been growing in recent years. In fact, it has almost become fashionable for some Jewish groups and leaders to distance themselves from the Israeli government: it's as if they want to show their credibility as independent Americans, and not knee-jerk puppets.

The readiness to challenge the Israeli government was, of course, underlined during the Pollard affair. It has been reinforced by the Who is a Jew debate and the continuing refusal to grant full religious rights to Reform and Conservative rabbis in Israel.

American Jews were deeply dismayed by the various domestic scandals in Israel, including the Shin Bet revelations involving officially sanctioned frame-ups and cover-ups. They were further demoralized by the Landau Commission's findings on the routine use of "physical force" to extract confessions from alleged terrorists. This is not the Israel they grew up with.

In the American Jewish community today, we are witnessing the continuing impact of these and other simmering frustrations. It is also clear that there is a growing American Jewish dissatisfaction with the stalemated peace process. Few American Jews are happy with the status quo. And many have been especially demoralized by the nasty images of Israel coming across their television screens.

On Wednesday's "Nightline," for instance, Israel's tough measures against the Palestinian demonstrators was repeatedly compared to what has been going on in South Africa and Chile. All of which, of course, points to the need for the Israeli leadership itself to take the initiative in resolving these problems. No one in Israel should expect it to come from Washington.

Wolf Blitzer Washington

Golan Heights in December. There were even temporary halts in F-16 deliveries to Israel and suspensions of strategic cooperation agreements.

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READERS' LETTERS

SHARON'S MOVE

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - It was interesting to note that Ariel Sharon's presence in the Old City will cost a rather steep sum for additional police protection. Would it not be more expedient to relocate him to "safer" quarters since the government has made so many cuts in the budget? Health and education, it seems, are far less important than maintaining Mr. Sharon's residency in the Old City.

However, if Mr. Sharon must live in his new quarters, why doesn't he make do with his normal contingent of bodyguards and depend on the normal policing that already exists? Surely he must be willing to live under the same "safe" conditions that have always existed for Old City residents, thus acting patriotically by saving the government a large expenditure for his personal safety.

For years, Mr. Sharon and his vociferous Knesset supporters have not felt impelled to live in the Old City or beyond the Green Line, although that option has been open to them. Their presence now does not prove the right of Jews to live in those places, since Jews have been living there since 1967. Mr. Sharon's living in the Old City does not prove anything, but only shows how an issue that has in effect been resolved can be made provocative, become twisted and ultimately be used against our country in the foreign media.

SHIMON NAFTALIS
Jerusalem.

SECOND CHANNEL

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - On Sunday, November 22, at 6 p.m., the second channel TV broadcast a movie which displayed a complete lack of ethical responsibility toward our children. First, this film was pornographic with scenes of nudity. Second, during the Israel TV strike, our children depend on the second channel for some entertainment, so many young children were watching this film. Third, together with other films and videos the second channel has been screening,

it indicates that there will be no internal censorship. The independent channel will be dependent on advertising for its budget and on the public for support. If this is the quality of programming and internal censorship in store for us, I, for one, will be at the forefront of the fight against the legalizing of an independent TV channel.

ARTHUR G. GOLDBERG
Jerusalem.

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

To the Editor of The Jerusalem Post

Sir, - Charles Hoffman's front-page and feature articles of December 11 on the World Zionist Congress fail to mention the important role of the Citizens Rights and Peace Movement (CRM), in passing the ground-breaking resolution on behalf of equality of streams in the Jewish religion in Israel. Religious pluralism is a major issue for CRM. Therefore, during the week of the WZC, CRM initiated action on behalf of it both at the Knesset and the WZC. CRM's active support in the WZC committees helped to con-

vince previously uncommitted delegates. Shimon Peres spoke on behalf of religious pluralism at the WZC and most Labour and Mapam delegates voted for the plenum resolution. Only one day earlier, however, in the Knesset, where it really counts, they voted against religious pluralism with their feet, by absenting themselves during the Knesset vote on the CRM bill.

DR. NECHAMA BEN-ELIAHU,
CRM Alternate-Delegate
to the WZC
Jerusalem.

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